

FOURTEENTH

# ANNUAL REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,

BY ITS BOARD OF MANAGERS,

JANUARY 28, 1846.

—  
WITH AN APPENDIX.  
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1846.

# REPORT.

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THE revolution of another year has completed the term of office of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and has brought around the time when it is their duty and their privilege to render an account of their stewardship to their constituents. A well-founded custom, also, demands of them, in addition to their Report of their doings, as the official servants of the Society, a brief view of the present condition and prospects of the Anti-Slavery cause, as seen in the light of the history of the last twelve months. In the great procession of events, which has filled up the year that is just closed, there were some whose cheering and animating aspect spoke to us only of hope and encouragement, and there were others, whose black and baleful influences fell cold upon our hearts, and seemed to cast ominous conjecture upon the fate of our enterprise and of our country. It cannot be expected that in the space which we can command, we should enter into a minute historical detail of either the one or the other. All that can be asked of us is, a slight review of the most important events of the year, that have affected the progress of the Anti-Slavery movement, and a passing glance at the cautions, the counsels and the hopes which they have bestowed upon us in their flight.

## TEXAS.

The brief twelvemonth which has just finished its course will be ever memorable in history for the bold completion of a national crime, long in open or in secret contemplation, the disastrous consequences of which to the African race and to the cause of Freedom throughout the world, though they may not be distinctly foreseen, can scarcely be exaggerated. At the time of our last annual assembly we spoke together of this event as impending, and as, apparently, inevitable ; we have now to record its final consummation. When we last met together the rebellious daughter of Mexico was standing at the doors of the Union, asking to be received into our protection with her dowry of plunder and of crime. The gate which had once been shut against her admission because the uses of an impending conflict for the powers of the government forbade a too hasty welcome, has been expanded wide for her triumphal entry, and she now sits upon as high a throne and wears her robe of sovereignty as royally as any of her elder sisters. Her domestic institutions are now united with our own in the ties of an indissoluble wedlock. Her fertile plains and green savannahs are thrown open to invite to exhaustless regions the slavery which has made a desert of the fields of its birth. A new market is created for the sale of men, and a fresh impulse is given to the trade in human cattle. The Slave Power exults in the overthrow of the boasted compromise of 1820, and rejoices in a victory which has thrown the balance of political power into her hands, as long as the Union endures, and rivets the chains of her Northern vassals, as well as of her Southern slaves. And the servile North submits, with scarce an audible remonstrance.

The following is a succinct account of the transaction. After the last Presidential contest was decided in favor of Mr.

POLK, whose name was understood, during the canvass, to be synonymous with Texas, the dominant party in Congress proceeded with all convenient speed to crown the work of Annexation. Joint Resolutions were introduced by Mr. MILTON BROWN, suitable for the accomplishment of this purpose. These resolutions were debated with much warmth for several days. On the 25th of February the resolutions passed by a vote of ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY TO NINETY-EIGHT. When the resolutions were before the Senate strong hopes were entertained by the enemies of the measure, from the political complexion of that body, that its success would at least be deferred to another Congress. Three Southern Whigs, however, whose constancy to the policy of their party had been relied on, honestly confessed themselves more of Slaveholders than of Whigs, and voted for the resolutions. In order, however, to provide a loophole for the retreat of tender consciences, who doubted whether Congress were competent, by joint resolution, to unite another nation to this, Mr. WALKER of Mississippi, the Coryphaeus of the movement, moved an amendment, by virtue of which the President might elect whether he would complete the Annexation by negotiation, or by the effect of the joint resolutions. This notable specific did its work, the tender consciences were relieved, and the resolutions, as amended, passed, on the 27th of February, by a vote of TWENTY-SEVEN TO TWENTY-FIVE. Upon the resolutions, with the amendment, being returned to the House, they were passed, the next day, (28th), as amended, under an order virtually prohibiting debate, by a vote of ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-TWO TO SEVENTY-SIX. All the Democrats in the House, including two (Messrs. PARMENTER and WILLIAMS) from this State, voted in the affirmative, with the honorable exceptions of Mr. JOHN P. HALE of New Hampshire, and Mr. R. D. DAVIS of New York.

It was the intention, and the expectation, doubtless, of the leaders in this matter, that the election between the two

methods of possessing ourselves of what did not belong to us, should be made by the new President, and not by the one whose term of office was just expiring. But Mr. TYLER was not to be shorn of the glory with which it had been his ambition to invest his administration. At almost the last gasp of his political existence, he made choice of the mode by Joint Resolution, and despatched a messenger forthwith, to convey the news of his decision to the Texan authorities.

It now became necessary for the Texan Congress and people to consent to the Annexation, and to form the Republican Constitution, necessary to the admission of its "lone star" to the constellation that sheds its selectest influences upon the symbolic stripes of the national ensign. Influences seemed at one time to be at work, which might have the effect of retarding, if not of preventing, this unholy alliance. There seemed, for a brief space, a gleam of hope that the banns of this unhallowed marriage might yet be forbidden. There is good reason for believing that a strong reluctance existed on the part of the leading public men of Texas to descending from their position at the head of a recognized nation to the subordinate dignities of one of the United States. The diplomatic agents of England and France were active in doing what was possible to prevent the deed. Through their influence chiefly, it is believed, Mexico was induced to offer a full recognition of the independence of Texas, on condition that it should remain a separate nation. But the force of the slave power from within, and the pressure of the slave power from without, easily bore down all opposition. The existence of slavery in Texas, and the prosperity of slavery in the United States, were well understood to be incompatible with her nationality. The Texan Congress forthwith took the necessary measures to call the requisite convention of the people; and the convention accepted the terms of admission with but a single dissenting vote. A constitution was framed and adopted, in which slavery was honestly made the chief end of the

compact, and the institution guarded by provisions, which make emancipation a moral impossibility.

During these proceedings the dwellers in the cities, and they that go down to the sea in ships, were startled by rumors of war which was to spring from this just cause, if just cause of war can be. The indignation of Mexico was to be visited upon the commerce of the country, and many a breast that had never felt a throb of sympathy for the miseries which Annexation was to work in thousands of human hearts, nor a thrill of indignation at the mingled chicanery and ruffianism which had accomplished it, bled in view of the possible calamity of whale-ships and Indiamen. To calm these fears, the providence of the Executive concentrated the main body of the army upon the frontiers of Texas and Mexico, not to say within the borders of Mexico itself, and bade our fleet to hover, like birds of ill-omen, upon the Mexican sea-coast. Whether it were owing to these displays of superior force, or whether the inherent weakness and internal dissensions of Mexico prevented any hostile demonstrations, none were made. The law of the lion prevailed, and the weaker party went quietly to the wall. The slavery party, it seems, knew their men, and had not exaggerated the weakness of the victim they had selected to despoil. All apprehensions of a Mexican war have long since died away; and, by the last accounts, there is a prospect of a speedy renewal of diplomatic intercourse between the two Republics!

At the opening of the present Congress, therefore, the Nation of Texas offered herself at the threshold of the Union, and presenting the proofs that she had complied with all the conditions required of her, and proffering a constitution to which the most devoted lover of the peculiar institutions of his country could not object, demanded that she should be permitted to merge her nationality in the embrace of the United States. So reasonable a request was not to be gainsaid or denied. At the earliest possible moment, the neces-

sary resolutions were introduced into the House of Representatives, and carried, at the point of the bayonet, under the previous question, moved before the resolutions were before the House, by a vote of ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-ONE to FIFTY-NINE. In the Senate the farce was conducted with rather more regard to appearances ; but the resolutions passed, after a short debate, by a vote of THIRTY-ONE to THIRTEEN. They immediately received the signature of the President, and the long contest is at last ended by the triumphant union of the two nations. They twain are henceforward one. The area of Freedom is indefinitely extended into the dominions of Mexico, and there seems to be no consistent reason to be given why it should not extend itself till it cover the whole continent embraced, on either side, by the Atlantic and the Pacific, and terminate its career of Annexation only at Terra del Fuego.

During the progress of this nefarious business, we are proud to say, that Massachusetts was not wholly silent and supine. Her words of remonstrance at least were heard protesting against the deed. The House of Representatives passed resolutions, by a majority of 288 to 41, denying the constitutional right of Congress to annex a foreign country by legislation ; that such act of admission would have no binding effect upon the people of Massachusetts ; that such annexation could only be made by the people in their original sovereign capacity ; and that Massachusetts would never consent to the admission of Texas, or any other State, except on the basis of perfect equality of freemen. When these resolutions came up for concurrence before the Senate, Mr. WILSON, of Middlesex, moved as an amendment, that if Texas should be admitted by a legislative act of Congress, this act could, and ought to be, repealed, at the earliest possible moment. This was rejected by a vote of twenty-four to eight. Other amendments were proposed, but finally the House resolutions were adopted by a unanimous vote.

This action on the part of the Legislature, though much better than nothing, lacked the only declaration for which the friends of Annexation would have cared,—that Massachusetts would regard the consummation of the act as a dissolution of the Union, and would treat it, in very deed, as if not binding and of no effect. Messrs. ADAMS, WILSON and BORDEN, of the Senate, deserve the highest honor for the courage and consistency with which they opposed this act of treason to freedom and humanity.

Nor were protestations against its accomplishment confined to the Halls of Legislation. In pursuance to a call signed by many of the most prominent citizens of the State, for intelligence, moral weight and political eminence, of all parties, a convention of delegates from all parts of the Commonwealth, representing the opposition to Annexation, assembled in Faneuil Hall, on the 29th of January, and continued its session into the following day. The Hall was filled with an assembly of earnest and thoughtful men, who were of one mind as to the iniquity of Annexation, widely as they differed in many other points of opinion and practice. The discussions were marked by great freedom and ability, and attracted large crowds to listen to them. Among the more prominent of the speakers we may mention, though necessarily omitting many names deserving of mention, the Hon. STEPHEN C. PHILLIPS, the Hon. CHARLES ALLEN, Mr. GEORGE S. HILLARD, Mr. GARRISON, President ALLEN, the Rev. CALEB STETSON, and the Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY. The principal business done by the Convention was the adoption of an Address, said to have been dictated, in part, by the foremost of the public men of Massachusetts. It was well worthy of the highest powers. The Anti-Slavery argument against Annexation was most forcibly presented in it, and the duty of Massachusetts to take the lead in the opposition, strongly set forth. Its weak point, and consequently, that of the doings of the Convention, lay in its containing merely an argument and a protest against the

crime, but without indicating any course of conduct to be pursued by Massachusetts, in case it should be finally committed. After adopting the address by a unanimous vote, the Convention adjourned, leaving further action in the hands of a Committee of Correspondence, whose doings have not as yet been made public.

Though this Convention was not attended by all the good results which might have followed a more vigorous line of action, still it was highly honorable to the gentlemen who were mainly instrumental in calling it, and truly encouraging in the signs it made manifest of an increasing sense of the general share of the whole people in the guilt and the punishment of slavery. Though it was summoned and attended by members of all parties, still its most numerous and active friends belonged to the Whig party, and they were rewarded for their efforts by the coldness and the opposition of many of their political friends. The extent to which, not only the rank and file, but prominent men, of the Whig party, showed themselves unwilling to hold their peace, in obedience to the wishes and the example of its leaders, when their sense of duty bade them speak, on this subject, was an encouraging sign of the times in the midst of evil days and evil tongues. These remarks are, of course, even more true of the members of the Democratic party who took part in, or sympathized with, the Convention.

The same disposition on the part of a certain portion of the influential members of the Whig party to check any agitation in the general mind, on the subject of Texas, has been evinced at a later period. The Spring and Summer wore away without any concentrated action of the enemies of Annexation. In consequence of a proposition made at the celebration of West India Emancipation, at Waltham, on the first of August, one of the simultaneous meetings called by this Board, Mr. WILLIAM H. CHANNING, a member of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society,

proposed that a committee should be appointed to call a County Convention on the subject of Annexation. This Committee issued a call, which was signed by many prominent men of all parties, in the County of Middlesex, for a Convention to be held at Concord. Accordingly this meeting was held, in September, and was one of deep interest. This Convention met, by adjournment, again at Cambridge on the 21st day of October. An animated meeting was there held; and, as the call of the Convention was exclusively addressed to the citizens of Middlesex County, and as it seemed to be a good opportunity for instituting a more general scheme of opposition, a meeting was held of citizens who were present from various other parts of the State, at an interval of the Convention, of which ELLIS GRAY LORING, of Boston, was Chairman, and EDMUND QUINCY, of Dedham, Secretary, which appointed a numerous State Committee to assume the duty of rallying the people to the rescue, if it might be done. This Committee, of which the Hon. CHARLES F. ADAMS was Chairman, entered upon their duties with zeal, and devoted themselves to their performance with a spirit and industry that did them the highest honor. They issued an address to the people; they entered into correspondence with the opposers of Annexation throughout the State; they sent forms of remonstrance against the admission of Texas, as a Slave State, not only to every part of this State, but to every county in the Free States; they published a weekly paper devoted to the cause; they held public meetings in the Metropolis, and in many other towns, to excite the general mind on the subject, and many of its members were untiring in their personal exertions to promote the same wholesome agitation. A public meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, on the 4th of November, which was well attended, upon a most tempestuous evening, and addressed by Messrs. ADAMS, PALFREY, CHARLES SUMNER, WENDELL PHILLIPS, GARRISON, WILLIAM H. CHANNING, STANTON and HILLARD. Meetings were subsequently held in

Lowell, Brookline, Dedham, Hingham, Roxbury and many other places. Mr. CHARLES F. ADAMS, Mr. JOHN G. PALFREY, Mr. WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH, Mr. WILLIAM H. CHANNING, and other gentlemen, did good service in addressing these assemblies. The Hon. STEPHEN C. PHILLIPS delivered two addresses on the subject, in the Tremont Temple, which exposed in a masterly manner the iniquity of the Texas Scheme, and which have since been published and widely read.

During these efforts on the part of the Committee, they received but little sympathy or assistance from the chief men of the party which had made hostility to Texas one of their watchwords in the late Presidential campaign. Some of the more prominent among them even refused to sign a remonstrance against the admission of Texas, as a Slave State, and thus threw the weight of their influence against even the utterance of a word of protest against this giant crime! The Representative of Boston in Congress, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, has on more than one occasion announced it as his political creed, that "the Union, however bounded," is to be maintained and defended! It is but too evident that an influential, if not a numerous, portion of the Whig party in Massachusetts, are tired of being under the ban of the Slaveholding Whigs, and are desirous of gaining, by any submissions, a full restoration to the bosom of the Whig Church Universal. The penance that is to wash out the sins of Massachusetts against Slavery has not yet been fully pronounced. Perhaps nothing more than unquestioning submission in time to come to all its behests will be required. Whether the mass of the people are prepared to walk through this valley of Humiliation, or not, for such an object, remains to be seen.

Remonstrances with nearly fifty thousand signatures, obtained within a very short time, were forwarded to Congress, as the result of this agitation. That it was of no avail, we know. That it would be of any avail was probably not expected by many who partook in the movement. Their guid-

ing principle seemed to be a conscientious desire to do what they could, even though they believed their labors would be fruitless, to save the nation from this guilt and shame ; and, at any rate, to free their own souls from any participation in it. The movement, notwithstanding its ill success, cannot be justly regarded as a failure, since it was the means of awaking, to a considerable extent, the attention of the people to their own implication in the crime of Slaveholding, both in its effects on the rights of its immediate victims, and on their own ; and also of bringing together, in a combined effort, many individuals of widely differing views on other subjects, but who were of one mind as to the fatal nature of Slavery.

There are many in the land, whose eyes, sealed in a wilful or in a judicial blindness, refused to see this danger, till it was too late ; and could hardly be persuaded that the bolt impended, until it had fallen upon their heads. To whomsoever else this event was unexpected, the intelligent Abolitionists of the country were well prepared for it. At every one of our successive gatherings, since the project of Annexation was first broached, has our warning voice been uplifted, entreating the people not to be deceived in this behalf. At times when universal security seemed to pervade the country, we have proclaimed that the scheme would never be abandoned, and that, unless an opposition of unexampled unanimity and vigor were presented to it by the North, it would be successful. We had watched too long, and knew too well, the wily and desperate nature of the Slave interest, to be deceived by any apparent relaxation of its wishes, or its efforts, to accomplish a measure vital to its own existence. We cannot but feel that, as far as our influence has extended, and our voice reached, we have been faithful in this matter to our country, to ourselves, and to our posterity.

But the deed is done. The catastrophe is over.. The destruction has overtaken us. A revolution has taken place of mightier moment than that which severed the tie binding the

youthful colonies to the mother-country. The institutions which our Fathers established, for the preservation of liberty, are now in form, as they have been long in effect, overthrown, burying the hopes of the Slave, and the rights of the free, beneath the ruins. Like the adept in the romance, in breathing the breath of life into the creature of their own hands, they mingled with it an element which has transformed it into a demon, to make a mockery of the very purposes of its creation, and to pursue and destroy those they loved the best. In the emphatic language of Mr. GIDDINGS, just uttered in the ears of Congress, "the Union founded by our fathers has been subverted, and a new Slaveholding confederacy has been formed, giving to the Southern portion the balance of power, and subjecting the free labor of the North, the dearest rights of the free States, to the tender mercies of a Slaveholding oligarchy!" That this is literally true, is obvious from the fact that this act gives to the Slave-power a clear majority of four votes in the Senate; thus placing the entire and absolute control of the legislation and policy of the country in its hands. And when we reflect that this Slave-power resides in a compact aristocracy, not probably much exceeding in numbers **ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND** voting men, we may well curse the folly of our fathers who bequeathed this inheritance to us, and marvel at the patience of the seventeen millions of their sons who consent to abide by it.

But the end is not yet. We are assured that the vast territory of Texas can furnish forty States of the size of Massachusetts. As fast, therefore, as the locust swarms of Slavery light upon and blast successive portions of that virgin soil, State after State, with a constitution in her hand, like that of Texas, "securing in the most clear and nervous manner the rights of the master to the slave," will demand, and with justice, admission to the confederacy. And when this destiny is accomplished, and when the last of the daughters of the young

Republic of the Southwest is gathered into our bosom, she will point to the broad plains of Mexico,— the fruitful mother of future States,— and, like the prophetic phantom of Banquo's descendant, will come “ bearing a glass, which shows us many more !”

It is yet too soon to predict the consequences of this momentous event. The ink is yet scarcely dried of the signature that authenticated the dark and ominous deed. An interval of guilt and silence succeeds to the stormy agitation that heralded it. Whether this repose, on the part of the opposers of the measure, is only a breathing space to enable them to put forth their energies with a new vigor for the redemption of their country from her disgrace, and themselves from their political serfdom ; or whether it evinces but a weak and criminal despondency, that despairs of the Republic, and yields a slavish submission to the ascendant tyranny ; can be disclosed by time alone. Futurity only, though perhaps a near futurity, can tell whether there is yet virtue and manliness enough in the nation to shake off their shameful vassalage, or whether it is destined to add another instance to those already recorded on the page of history, of a Republic sinking beneath the weight of its own selfishness and crime, and a fresh example,

“How nations sink, by darling schemes oppressed,  
When Vengeance listens to the fool's request.”

If there be indeed spirit and virtue enough left in the people to resent this outrage on their own rights, as well as on the rights of Humanity, and to resist the further aggressions of the encroaching power of Slavery, the annexation of Texas may prepare them for the only measure by which they can effectually do either the one or the other. We need scarcely say, to this audience, that we mean, THE DISSOLUTION OF THE EXISTING UNION OF THESE STATES.

In this alone lies the last hope of the Northern States, for real independence and self-government. The Constitution, and whatever of protection it may have been supposed to afford to Northern rights, being trampled under foot, and the nominal balance of power, which had been vouchsafed in the long established mode of admitting new States to the Union, being turned in favor of Slavery by the insulting sword of the conqueror, the North may perhaps learn that "*Vae Victis*"—wo to the vanquished—is the just and necessary watchword of such a victory. Already the great West, whose consent to the Annexation of Texas was purchased by the promise of the simultaneous acquisition of Oregon, is beginning to discover that the chivalry of the South, who were willing enough, for their own purposes, to plunge the country into a war with Mexico, which would be mainly waged with Northern commerce, are ready to break their word of promise to the ear and to the hope, rather than risk a collision with the chief consumer of their cotton, and tremble at the prospect of black regiments carrying a crusade for liberty, under the red-cross of St. George, into the heart of their plantations. And it seems by no means impossible, that the Slaveholders, in their gamesome mood of triumph, may play such fantastic tricks with their favorite toy of the Tariff, as to arouse the Almighty Dollar to put forth its omnipotence, and unseal the eyes even of Northern manufacturers. Upon such assistances as these we may confidently rely in our agitation of the question of Disunion. The deliverance of the North may yet be derived from the very excesses of the South. And the philosophical historian of a future day may discern, as he traces the downfall of Slavery to the remote causes, that its supporters might date the destruction of their cherished institution from the hour when the curse of Texas was granted to their prayers.

## HAÏTI.

The distracted state of this interesting island has within the last year afforded new food for the dreams of Southern Annexationists. The unhappy contest between the French and the Spanish parts of the island, which has been falsely represented as a war of colors, has suggested to the ever watchful guardians of Slavery, that at least an argument could be extracted from it against the capacity of the African race for self-government, if it did not furnish an opportunity for the re-establishment of the beneficial influences of Slavery under the auspices of the Anglo-Saxon race. Accordingly, an agent of the name of HOGAN was despatched thither by President TYLER to observe; if not to foment, the intestine distractions of the inhabitants, and to make a report of his espial. It is believed to have been satisfactorily ascertained, on semi-official and uncontradicted authority, that this envoy made a report to President POLK, in favor of the recognition of the independence of the Dominican, or Spanish, portion of the island ;—that overtures were made by the authorities of that department, through him, to the Government of the United States, on this subject, which, in the opinion of the observers, had a looking towards future Annexation ; and that this project has excited a lively interest in all slaveholding coteries. It has been asserted, moreover, that attempts are making to enlist men in the United States, to carry on the war between the Dominicans and the Haïtians. It was fully expected that Mr. POLK would make some developement of this plan in his Annual Message; and his silence on the subject seems to imply that the pear is not yet ripe, or at least that the people of the United States are not yet thought ready to pluck it.

Whether any speedy attempt to realize these golden dreams will be made, cannot now be predicted. But it may be con-

fidently affirmed, that nothing but the absolute impossibility of success will divert the cupidity of the slaveholders from so tempting a prey, when once indicated to their pursuit. But the adventurers in such a game would do well to reflect that they would have a very different foe to encounter than that which opposed their larceny of Texas, in a people nerved by half a century of freedom, who, even in their first sacrifices to Liberty, offered up to her, as a holocaust, the brother-in-law of Napoleon, and the flower of the army of Italy, and who are ever prepared to burn their cities and retire to their mountain fastnesses, at the first approach of an enslaving invader.

But the ardor of slave-holding passion for new territory, over which to extend and confirm the blessings of Slavery, is not to be satisfied by the remote prospect of the possession of the Queen of the Antilles. Already, as soon as the Annexation resolutions had passed the Senate, Mr. LEVY, of Florida, moved that the President be requested to negotiate with Spain for the purchase of Cuba ! This motion was subsequently withdrawn, as premature, at the request of those who would be no enemies to the measure ; but it did its work, in implanting the idea in the public mind, which its friends believe time will ripen to a new harvest of Annexation. It is asserted, and with good grounds of probability, that Mr. SLIDELL, the new Slaveholding ambassador to Mexico, is empowered to negotiate for the purchase of California, and that it is intended to buy the consent of Great Britain to this acquisition of a territory which may be made the prey of Slavery, by the bribe of her chosen portion of Oregon, a country whose parallels of latitude forever forbid the approach of its desolating footsteps. Already does the prophetic eye of Southern statesmen behold the star-spangled banner waving in mockery over new nations of slaves, scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Potomac to the Isthmus of Darien, and thickly peopling the whole Archipelago of islands which gem the borders of the Western Continent. And such dreams are not

the fantastic creations of a diseased imagination. After the victory they have just achieved, if it be tamely submitted to by the North, they have no reason to anticipate any serious opposition, on this Continent, to their schemes of conquest. But it is to be hoped that the humanity of Christendom, and the Civilization of the Age, will interfere between these beautiful visions and their literal fulfilment.

#### FLORIDA.

Since we last met together, another jewel has been added to the coronet of Slavery by the erection of Florida into a sovereign State. The young territory of Iowa having attained, in a few short years, to the fulness of strength, presented herself at the Capitol, with a constitution in her hand forbidding the existence of Slavery within her borders, and demanded the freedom of the guild of the General Government. The territory of Florida offered her early decrepitude, as an offset to the vigorous youth of the hardy daughter of the West, and in evidence of her worthiness of such a fellowship, she held forth a Constitution which expressly denied to her Legislature the power ever to abolish slavery, but conferring upon it, in open subversion of the Constitution of the country, the right to prevent the immigration of free citizens of other States, if "the sun had looked upon them and they were black." The policy which has been employed ever since the famous Missouri Compromise, of refusing admission to a Free State, unless it entered hand and hand with a Slave State, was not neglected at this crisis. All attempts which were made to sever the links that united these two in a common fate, were fruitless. Nor was this all. The modest provision was inserted in the act of admission, that when the Eastern division of Florida attained to a population of thirty thousand souls, it should be erected into a separate State,

while no such grace was extended to the less favored child. This, however, was too much even for the Congress of Annexation to bear, and this provision was struck out by a large majority.

The bill came before the House on the 13th of February, when Mr. MORSE, of Maine, moved as an amendment, that Florida should not be admitted until the article just mentioned had been stricken from her Constitution, and defended his proposition with spirit and ability. It was rejected, however, by a vote of EIGHTY-SEVEN TO SEVENTY-SEVEN. Mr. KING, of New York, then moved the admission of Iowa alone. But this was rejected. And the bill was finally passed by a vote of ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIVE yeas to THIRTY-FOUR nays. All of the Massachusetts delegation, that were present, voted in the negative, with the exception of Mr. PARMENTER.

The bill came before the Senate for concurrence, on March 1st, and Mr. EVANS, of Maine, moved as an amendment, that Florida should not be admitted until she had altered her constitution and her laws, so as to allow the equal rights of colored seamen with other citizens. After a debate of some duration, in which the speakers on either side were divided in opinion according to their residence north or south of Mason's and Dixon's line, the amendment was lost by a vote of TWELVE TO THIRTY-FIVE. The bill then passed by a vote of THIRTY-SIX yeas to NINE nays.

If is worthy of remark, that, in consequence of the refusal of Iowa to accept the terms of admission, the weight of the slaveholding votes of Florida in the Senate is not counterpoised by those of her Senators. So that, at the present session, when the Senators of Texas are in their places, Slavery will have a clear majority of *four* votes, against Liberty.

## THE SOUTH.

It is not to be wondered at, in the view of the triumphs of the Slave Power, which we have been recounting, that the South should exult in her successes, and exalt her horn against the humbled North. It is but natural that the Slaveholders should feel disposed to press their advantage to the very limits of the endurance of the inhabitants of the Free States. Such is the condition of human nature, that the tyrant will ever rejoice in the humiliation of his vassals, and tighten their chains at every fresh instance of passive endurance. This cup Slavery is filling to the brim for us, and it will not pass away until we have drained it to the dregs, or have summoned spirit enough to dash it to the earth.

In our last Report, which went fully into the treatment of Mr. HOAR at the hands of South Carolina, we could only state that Mr. HUBBARD, the agent of Massachusetts for New Orleans, had been compelled to return with his mission defeated. That gentleman was driven, or rather retired in well-grounded apprehension of compulsion, from the State, declaring that he found it impossible to execute his mission. The Legislature of Louisiana, with all convenient speed, passed laws making a repetition of this interference with her "internal police," a highly penal offence. Her example, and that of South Carolina, who preceded her in this preventive legislation, was followed by some of the other Southwestern States; so that the dignity of the domestic institution may be considered, now, as amply vindicated from the treasonable assault of Massachusetts upon it. The majesty of Southern law is triumphant. The fears of the chivalry are allayed, and General QUATLEBUM has rest to his soul.

Through this infamous defiance of the Constitution of the United States, and of the commonest rights of hospitality and of humanity, it is certain that many humble and useful citizens

of the Free States, have been obstructed in their honest avocations, and have suffered imprisonment and outrage for no crime, but their complexion ; it is probable that some have been consigned to a life-long servitude. But Slavery is impartial where the defence of her own privileges are concerned, and fresh victims have been seized and punished on suspicion of assisting in the escape of fugitives from the house of bondage. Words and looks of pity are now contraband in the Southern States, and they may be bestowed only at the peril of the giver. Indeed, no man is safe from judicial or popular violence, who exercises his constitutional privilege of using his citizenship, in a Slave State, and who is not ready to utter the most servile of the shibboleths of Slavery. If suspicion is aroused against him, where every eye is full of suspicion, there is no protection for him in the name of citizen, or in the safeguards of the Constitution ; he may, in very possible cases, have to choose between falling down and worshipping the national idol and being thrown into the hottest furnace of fanatical persecution. And it is just that it should be so. If the strong tamely suffer the weak and the helpless, those for whose protection civil government, in theory at least, was mainly established, to be treated as if there were no rights and no Constitution securing them, they have no just reason to complain when the same measure is meted to themselves. The more impartially the South bestows its injuries, the less distinction it makes in the distribution of its wrongs, between the white and the black, the bond and the free, the more hope is there that an adequate spirit of resistance may be roused which shall end them all together.

But black and lowering as the Southern skies still are, there are not wanting occasional gleams of light which are the harbingers of a happier day. Symptoms are manifested, from time to time, and at distant points, of a growing discontent on the part of the white population of the Slave States who are not slaveholders. This class of people stand, perhaps,

nearer to the slaves in the virtual privation of civil, if not personal freedom, than any other inhabitants of the country. They are made to feel every day and every hour that they are in the presence of an overshadowing aristocracy. Whatever may be the flatteries of demagogues, on the eve of elections, they feel that their condition is despised, their labor disgraceful, and their endeavors to improve their condition obstructed. The more intelligent among them are beginning to attribute this state of things to its true cause. In Maryland and Virginia, as well as in Kentucky, the subject is openly discussed in the public prints; and in Virginia there seems to be every prospect of a successful attempt to break down the principle of Slave-representation, which has placed the political power of the South in the hands of the Slaveholders, at the convention which is soon to assemble for the revision of the Constitution. In Tennessee and Missouri, and even in North Carolina, there have been symptoms of this growing disaffection. The painful contrast which the Slave States, which border on the Free, afford to their neighbors in wealth, population and intelligence, is beginning to be more deeply felt, and more generally attributed to its real origin. Here we perhaps discern the first workings of an element, which may ere long be seen entering largely into the solution of the great problem of practical Emancipation.

CASSIUS M. CLAY.

Among all these hopeful auguries, arising to us from the thick darkness which hangs over the Slave States, that afforded by the movement of CASSIUS M. CLAY, in Kentucky, must be regarded as by far the most signal and the most conspicuous. For a long time the friends of Freedom throughout the country had been watching with anxious curiosity to see whether the course which this gentleman had only begun

would be persevered in and consistently carried out. The boldness of his denunciation of the Slave system, and his fearless exposure of its evils, enforced by his emancipation of his own hereditary slaves, had attracted the attention, not only of Abolitionists, but of the country, to his career. Its onward progress has certainly been no less interesting and instructive than its commencement. In January he issued an address to the people of Kentucky, in which he set forth in eloquent and emphatic language the evils which Slavery had entailed upon Kentucky, and drew a glowing contrast of the difference between her estate and that of the Free States around her. He depicted the dependent condition of the poor white population, and declared that experience had proved the incompatibility of Slavery and popular education. He concluded by earnest appeals to the people to take instant measures to procure the removal of this curse from the soil.

Early in June Mr. CLAY began, at Lexington, the publication of the "True American," a weekly paper, devoted to the cause of Gradual Emancipation in Kentucky. It was characterized by the same bold and energetic spirit, which had marked his previous public action on Slavery. Its appearance excited a very general attention, and it was sustained by a large subscription list in the Free States, as well as in Kentucky. It was hardly to be expected, however, that such an enterprise could be carried on, with earnestness and resolution, in the heart of a Slave State, without exciting a deep and bitter opposition. Accordingly, when about ten numbers had appeared, symptoms of impatience began to manifest themselves, which soon took a palpable shape. At the time selected for the commencement of the attack upon his paper, Mr. CLAY was suffering from a typhoid fever, which prevented him from making any forcible resistance, could he have judged such resistance feasible or prudent, under the circumstances of the case. A small meeting was held on the 15th of August, which appointed a committee to communicate to him a reso-

lution requesting him to discontinue the True American, "as dangerous to the peace of our community and to the safety of our homes and families." To this demand Mr. CLAY replied with a refusal, couched in burning words of indignation and contempt. The meeting was then adjourned to the 18th of August. In the mean time Mr. CLAY issued an address, explaining the nature of his plan of emancipation (combining the principles of gradualism and compensation), and denying that he had ever used language of a nature to excite insurrection among the slaves. On the appointed day a numerous multitude assembled, who, stimulated by an inflammatory speech from THOMAS F. MARSHALL, a personal enemy of Mr. CLAY's, (and encouraged by the presence and approving words of ex-Governor Metcalfe,) resolved that "the press should stop," which they would effect "peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must." To carry out this determination, a committee of sixty, of which Mr. JAMES B. CLAY, a son of HENRY CLAY, (who retired on the day previous to that fixed upon for this outrage on his kinsman and ardent supporter, to partake of the festivities of a neighboring watering-place), was a personal member, for the purpose of taking possession of the press and sending it beyond the limits of the State. This duty they triumphantly performed, and sent it, subject to the order of its owner, to Cincinnati. After this gallant exploit the committee reported their success, and the meeting adjourned, flushed with victory, and hoping that they had now given its *quietus* to this dangerous agitation.

But what are the hopes of man! To their astonishment they found that they had only given to it a new impulse. A strong sensation was created in Kentucky, itself, and men began earnestly to inquire what this new thing was which it was so dangerous that they should know. A public meeting was immediately held in Cincinnati, to take measures for the safe-keeping of the press, and to express their sympathy with Mr. CLAY, and their indignation at the injurious treatment he had

received. To these expressions of regard, Mr. CLAY replied in a letter which breathed a resolute and unbroken spirit; denied the calumnious assertion that he had offered to discontinue the paper, if his property were spared; and declared that, "as to his press, his motto of God and Liberty should never be struck," and that "it was for those who fight for the wrong to despair in defeat." Public meetings were held in many other places to express their sense of this outrage on the liberty of the press. The effect of this act of violence, therefore, was such as all acquainted with the nature of the human mind, or with the history of reformations, knew to be inevitable, to make the injured party grasp his principles with a firmer hand, and to give him a yet wider field and a better opportunity to disseminate them.

It was not long before Mr. CLAY fulfilled the pledge, implied in his answer to the Cincinnati resolutions, and in about two months after the suppression of the True American, it made its twelfth appearance, containing a long "appeal," in which he put on record the history of the base transactions of the 18th of August, defended his own conduct, and showed to the non-slaveholders of Kentucky that they were virtually enslaved. He concluded with a hope that what he had suffered, and what he might yet suffer, would "arouse in the bosom of Americans, an honorable shame and a magnanimous remorse, which would lead to the peaceful overthrow of the slave-despotism of this nation." These are the concluding words of this admirable paper: "To the liberty of my country and of mankind, then, I dedicate myself, and those whom I hold most dear, — and for the purity of my motives and the patriotism of my life, — the past and the future, — I appeal to Kentucky and to the world!"

This brief history is full of instructions. It shows the falsehood of the assertion that Kentucky was ready for a prospective manumission of her slaves, at the time the cry of Immediate Emancipation was raised, and that it is owing to the

Anti-Slavery agitation that measures were not long ago commenced for Gradual Abolition. It gives the lie to the assertion that it was because the movement against Slavery was commenced in the Free States, that the slaveholders had clung yet closer to the system, out of their lofty scorn of foreign dictation. It contradicts the assertion that the angry resistance of the slaveholders to the demands of Anti-Slavery that they should relieve their victims, was mainly attributable to its harsh language, and stern denunciations. Here was a native-born citizen of Kentucky, a slaveholder by birth and education, bearing one of the most honored of her historical names, no stranger and alien,—and yet what was his treatment at the hands of his fellow-citizens, for endeavoring to do them good and not evil? He was no fanatical abolitionist, he did not denounce the Slaveholder as a sinner because of his slaveholding, he attacked the system rather than its supporters, he asked only for Gradual Emancipation, and offered the bribe of compensation, and were they any the more willing to listen to his words? Here is sufficient proof, had any been wanting, that the opposition of Slaveholders and their abettors, to the Anti-Slavery movement, is not because they want to abolish Slavery in their own chosen way, nor because the delicate sensitiveness of their honor shrinks from the interposition of strangers, nor because their ears are shocked by the unyielding testimony and plainness of speech of the Abolitionists; but because they love Slavery for its own sake, and are resolved never to abandon it, as long as it makes them, not merely the absolute masters of the blacks, but the political lords of the whites.

Though we dissent from the positions taken by Mr CLAY, in his warfare with Slavery, and are more than ever convinced by his own experiences as well as by the pregnant histories of every succeeding year, that Slavery is to be attacked effectually only by treating it as a *malum in se*, and demanding, as in the case of every other crime, an immediate cessa-

tion from it, as the only true morality and the only just expediency ; still we hold him to deserve the highest honor for his courageous and generous assertion of human liberty in the midst of trials and dangers that might well daunt a less intrepid spirit. We believe that a further experience will convince him that Slavery is “deceitful above all things and desperately wicked,” and that one of its most hateful features is, the ruin which it makes of the most ingenuous and noble natures ; that he will perceive it to be a crime against God and humanity, by whomsoever perpetrated, which ought to be immediately abandoned ; and will discern that compensation, if made at all, is due to the Slave rather than to the Master. We think it not too much to affirm that it is the faithful and uncompromising testimony which the Abolitionists have borne to these truths, and to whatever other truths naturally flow from them, in the ears of an unwilling generation, for the last fifteen years, which has created that public sentiment in the free States, which is now Mr. CLAY's chief moral support. And perhaps it is to these very hated testimonies, and to the agitation they have excited, that Mr. CLAY, and his country, owe the formation and developement of his own Anti-Slavery character. We are confident, moreover, that he will see with us, before our common object is attained, that it is not to be accomplished by any management of political machinery of which the Slaveholders possess the absolute control as long as it exists in its present shape ; but that the deliverance of the Slave, and the honor and safety of the nominally free, can only be achieved by THE ABROGATION OF THE EXISTING NATIONAL CONSTITUTION, AND THE DISSOLUTION OF THE PRESENT UNION OF THESE STATES,—by the adoption, and consistent carrying out, of the present Anti-Slavery watchword — “NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.”

In the hope that Mr. CLAY will yet see eye to eye with us on these points, and that we shall yet be found fighting

shoulder to shoulder with him in this holy warfare, we cordially bid him God speed in the agitation which he has so nobly begun and so fearlessly carried forward. When we can act together, consistently with the honest difference in our opinions, we shall be ever ready to tender to him our cordial sympathy and our helping hands. A career opens before him which might well satisfy the highest ambition, as well as the most earnest benevolence. He has taken the lead in a revolution, which can never go backwards, and which, when complete, will fill with its blessings millions of homes and hearts, in his native State, and in the whole Southern country, and his name will be to them as one of their household words, to the end of time, if he be but faithful to the trust he has assumed. Should he survive the conflict he has invoked, and endure unto the end, he will be honored by his beloved Kentucky as the chiefest of her benefactors, and will receive from her hand a tribute of enduring gratitude, such as she has never yet bestowed upon the worthiest of her sons. And should it be his fate to fall at his post, in the hot strife of the early battle, he will leave behind him an example which will stir the hearts of his successors like the sound of a trumpet, and he will bequeath to his children a name more precious than the richest inheritance;

“One of the few, the immortal names,  
That were not born to die.”

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

Besides the action of the Legislature of Massachusetts in the matter of Texas, which we have already related, there were other proceedings of that body worthy of Anti-Slavery remembrance. After the return of Mr. HOAR from his mission to Charleston, he made a report of his doings<sup>3\*</sup> Governor

Briggs, which was laid before the General Court. It was referred to a Joint Special Committee, of which the Hon. CHARLES F. ADAMS was Chairman. This Committee reported a Declaration to the other States of the Union, "in the presence of all Christian nations, of the civilized world, and of an Omniscient all-seeing Deity," entering an "earnest and solemn Protest against the hostile acts of South Carolina." This State Paper was drawn up with admirable temper, skill and precision, setting forth the whole case, showing the reasonableness and necessity of the acts of Massachusetts, and justifying her course by forcible statements and impregnable arguments. It concluded with a solemn adjuration to the States not to permit acts which amounted to a destruction of the Constitution, to have no Constitutional redress, and an explicit statement that if such acts were tolerated, and the General Government continued to refuse redress, that Massachusetts, and other aggrieved States, had no remedy, "except by throwing herself back upon the original inherent rights of her citizens to defend themselves." While it declared that Massachusetts would delay the decision of what her remedy should be in such case, in deference to her obligations to the pacific States, still, if the outrages were repeated, and no redress afforded her, "retaliation would follow," and worse evils in its train. Though she would sacrifice much to avert the downfall of the Union, she would still do her duty to the humblest of her citizens; and would never relax in her demand for her rights as a State, or "in the exertion of her utmost energies in support of the undying principles of justice and liberty among men." This Protest was adopted and sent to the governors of all the other States, with a request to lay it before their Legislatures, and to the governor of South Carolina, unaccompanied by such a request. This measure was a dignified and proper proceeding, as Massachusetts recognised the binding force of the Constitution of the United States, and, if followed up by suitable action,

would form a suitable link in the chain of events. Had the Protest been adopted with the same sincerity with which it was draughted, and the spirit it breathed been indeed the breath of the life of the people, all would be well. But all seems to be forgotten already. Our colored seamen are still shut up in the gaol of Charleston, our agents would still be punished by law if they interfered in their behalf, and we shall now see whether Massachusetts, after another year of sufferance, is disposed to make it the badge of all her tribe, in all time to come, or whether she is disposed to redeem the pledge made in her Protest to do her duty to her people. We fear that her policy on this and kindred subjects will be marked by "a wise and masterly inactivity." But most happy shall we be to find our forebodings contradicted by the result.

An order was also adopted, declaring that Massachusetts demands, and will continue to demand, that the General Government make such change in the jurisdiction of the Federal Courts, or such provisions by law, as will enable any citizen debarred of his liberty, on account of his color, to have a remedy in the laws of the United States; and requesting our Senators and Representatives to lose no opportunity of urging this subject upon the consideration of Congress. We have not learned that any such opportunity has, as yet, been found or improved.

Subsequently to the action of the last Congress, relative to the Annexation of Texas, Mr. WILSON, of Middlesex, presented an order that the Judiciary Committee should prepare a bill declaring that any slave escaping from Texas to Massachusetts should be protected in his rights, and making it a penal offence to molest or attempt to recapture him; on the ground that Massachusetts does not recognize Texas as one of the United States, nor entitled to the benefits of the Constitution. The Committee reported that it was inexpedient to legislate on the subject. Mr. WILSON moved the re-

committal of the order with instructions to report a bill, and urged the measure in a speech of much earnestness and ability. But the Senate refused to recommit by a large majority. This refusal to perform an act, perfectly reasonable and justifiable in the position Massachusetts had assumed, gives but too much cause to apprehend that the brave words uttered by her on this subject, and others affecting her rights, are but so much empty sound signifying nothing.

The right of the colored inhabitants of the State to equal advantages of instruction with the whites also came before the last General Court. The School Committees, in the exercise of their sovereign power, have seen fit in certain towns either to establish separate schools for colored children, and to require them to attend those schools or none, or else have made such local regulations as amounted in effect to the same separation on account of complexion. It is believed that the Supreme Court would decide that the laws of the State contemplate no distinction between its citizens, founded on color; but there was no way in which the point could be brought before them for adjudication. Accordingly a bill was carried through, though not without opposition, giving to any child deprived of the equal advantages of the public schools, in any town, a right of action by his next friend, against the town. The success of this measure was largely owing to the untiring exertions of Messrs. SHAW and GARDNER, of Nantucket, who devoted themselves to the work of carrying it through the General Court with praiseworthy zeal and perseverance. We are not aware that any action has yet been brought under its provisions, but we cannot doubt what the decision of the Supreme Court would be, if the question be presented to them.

It may be mentioned here that an attempt was made last Summer in Boston to destroy this source of prejudice. A Petition was presented to the School Committee, from colored citizens, praying that "separate schools for colored children be abolished --- and the said children permitted to attend

the schools in their several districts." This question excited a good deal of discussion in the community, as well as in the Committee. It came up for final determination in a special meeting of the Committee, June the 19th, when, after the rights of the colored people had been maintained with much spirit by the Rev. Messrs. PATTON and STEDMAN, Mr. A. J. WRIGHT, Dr. C. A. PHELPS and Dr. BOWDITCH, the Committee decided that it was inexpedient to grant the prayer of the petitioners, by a vote of FIFTY-FIVE to TWELVE. It is but justice to say that the honor of this attempt to remove this cause and effect of prejudice from this city, is mainly due to Dr. HENRY I. BOWDITCH, whose zeal and industry in the cause were untiring. The chief opposer of the change was Mr. JOHN C. PARK, who in his place in the Senate, a short time before, had given his weight against the passage of the law just described, in its most effective form, and who has always distinguished himself, on all fitting occasions, as the organ of the pro-slavery spirit, and the hatred of color, which yet lingers in the community.

#### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

During the past year this State, which has been long looked upon as the stronghold of Southern principles in Northern latitudes, has been visited by a wholesome agitation, coming from a quarter whence it was least expected. When the question of Annexation was agitating the public mind, the Hon. JOHN P. HALE, one of the Representatives from New Hampshire, then a candidate for re-election, addressed a letter to his constituents, in which he gave his reasons for departing from the policy of his party, on this point, and opposing the Annexation of Texas into the Union. His letter contained a conclusive and well-reasoned argument on the unconstitutionality of the measure, fortified by quotations

from the formerly expressed opinions of the oracles of Democracy; but it placed the main objection against the act on the impregnable ground of its necessary and avowed tendency to extend and perpetuate Slavery. This letter produced a strong excitement throughout New Hampshire and the country. Mr. HALE was at once denounced as a recreant Democrat by the leaders of the Party, and every description of abuse heaped upon his head. A new Convention was called, and another candidate selected in his stead. But though the leading influences of the party were thus ready to sacrifice him for his fidelity to liberty, there was a large portion of the masses who refused to obey their dictation. Mr. HALE has addressed large popular meetings in various parts of the State, and has thus been the means of disseminating knowledge on the subject of Texas and Slavery, which was sedulously hidden from the eyes of the people by the self-constituted keepers of their consciences. Several elections have been held without success; and, from present appearances, it seems very doubtful whether a majority of the people can be dragooned or coaxed into appointing as their Representative the nominee of Slavery. Had the Whigs of New Hampshire been willing to drop their minor differences of opinion, and to unite with the better part of the Democracy in a common testimony to the great principles which were the true issue of the contest, Mr. HALE would have been triumphantly elected, the pseudo Democracy would have been rebuked, and perhaps a revolution effected in the politics of the State which would have delivered it from its disgraceful vassalage to the Slave Power. But, even as it is, incalculable good has unquestionably been done by this breach in the solid columns of the pro-slavery Democracy of New Hampshire, and it is not likely that it will ever again be able to present an unbroken front, as of old, by the side of its "natural ally."

## NEW YORK.

An interesting question is now attracting public attention in the State of New York. By the existing Constitution the right of suffrage is confined to whites, and to colored persons possessing a certain property qualification. A Convention being proposed for the amendment of the Constitution, it was soon suggested that this was a provision loudly calling for attention. The Democratic party were, or pretended to be, so much in fear of this threatened pollution of the right of suffrage, by accepting a ballot from a black as well as from a white hand, that some of their presses urged the people to vote against the calling of the Convention, lest it might be incurred. The Convention, however, has been called. The elections of delegates will, doubtless, to a considerable extent, turn upon this point. It is to be hoped that there will be enough found in the ranks of both parties who really feel the love of human rights they both equally profess, and of Abolitionists who stand aloof from either party, to turn the scale, and to expunge this disgraceful monument of a vanished Slavery from the archives of the Empire State.

## ENGLAND.

The attention of the English nation, both politicians and people, has been anxiously directed towards this country, during the past year, watching the course of our public policy with a curious eye. The contempt which our Slavery, Lynch Law, Annexation and Repudiation had brought upon our national character, has not been diminished by the vaporizing spirit and bullying tone which our rulers have seen fit to indulge on the subject of Oregon. This question is yet unset-

tled, and England is making silent preparations to vindicate what she conceives to be her rights by the sword, in the last resort. It is not at all probable, however, that she will be compelled to this ultimate argument. The Slave-holders are now supreme in the Senate of the United States, by an actual numerical majority, and it is not probable that they will lay waste their cotton plantations, and invite by their weakness and hostile domestic population the invasion of an emancipating army, for the sake of giving free territory to the North. A war with England they fear too truly would be a lever of Emancipation. And the risk of such a war we do not think they would incur, unless it were for territory fitted to enjoy the blessings of Slavery. The promise of the whole of Oregon was extended to the West to bribe her to consent to their acquisition of Texas; that being now secured, England will be propitiated to ensure their quiet enjoyment of their prey.

The hostility to negro slavery, which is now become an internal element of the British character, has manifested itself on frequent occasions. The Message of President TYLER to the Senate on the African Slave Trade, in which he spoke of the condition of the Africans liberated by the British cruisers, in the West India Islands, as no better than that of slaves, was the subject of discussion in the House of Commons. Mr. ALDANE, member for Leeds, called the attention of Sir ROBERT PEEL to the Message in a spirit of just indignation. The prime minister stated the exact state of the case, that the liberated Africans were absolutely their own masters, as soon as they touched the British dominions, and expressed his surprise that the President should have made so gross a mistatement, without inquiry into the facts.

In a speech on the Sugar Question, the Rt. Hon. THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY took occasion to expose and denounce the horrors and enormities of American Slavery and of the

internal Slave Trade, with a severity and eloquence worthy of his own fame and of the great Anti-Slavery name he bears. His political and literary celebrity secured to it an extensive perusal in the United States, and its influence and beneficent effect extended over a much wider field than he probably dreamed of, at the time he uttered it. The audience of a British Senator is not limited by the walls of the House of Commons, — it is co-extensive with the nations which speak the English tongue ; and the blessing or the rebuke of his burning words, though spoken on the Thames, resound in the ears of the dwellers by the Ganges and the Mississippi.

A complimentary correspondence having taken place between the council of the Anti-Corn-Law League and Mr. McDUFFIE and Mr. CALHOUN, in which these champions of Slavery were recognized as distinguished friends of free trade, gave rise to action on the part of some of our trans-Atlantic friends honorable to their clearness of vision and singleness of heart. Mr. EDWARD S. ABDY, who is honorably known to Abolitionists as one of the few English travellers in this country who maintained their Anti-Slavery integrity, and who is one of our warmest friends and most useful correspondents, withdrew from the League, on this account, and assigned his reasons in a well-argued letter, in which he showed the inconsistency of recognizing "soul-drivers and negro-jobbers"— "the enemies of personal liberty as the friends of commercial liberty." Our faithful and untiring friend JAMES HAUGHTON, of Dublin, addressed letters of expostulation to the editor of "THE LEAGUE," and to Messrs. COBDEN and BRIGHT, the Free Trade champions in Parliament, expressing his pain at seeing the complimentary communications of the Council with "two men, whose names stand foremost among the oppressors of their race." It is a significant fact that "THE LEAGUE," the Anti-Corn-Law organ, refused to publish these letters of Mr. ABDY and Mr. HAUGHTON, thus affording the strongest acknowledgment that they were unanswerable. It is believed

that multitudes besides sympathized in these regrets, and it is to be hoped that the Council of the League will learn that the Free Trade of Slaveholders is synonymous with monopoly in human flesh.

During the last year, the Anti-Slavery cause has lost one of its most earnest and faithful friends by the death of Sir THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, Bart., the chosen successor of Wilberforce, for many years the Anti-Slavery leader in the House of Commons. He was unwearied in his efforts to procure the abolition of West India Slavery, and it was in a great measure owing to his exertions in the House of Commons, as the representative of the Anti-Slavery spirit of the people, that it was finally effected. The mistake of his Anti-Slavery career was, his consenting to the apprenticeship system, insisted upon by the Ministry as an additional compensation to the masters. This mistake we believe no one saw more clearly, or regretted more deeply, than himself. His name will be inseparably connected with those of WILBERFORCE, SHARP, MACAULAY and other friends of the African race.

The venerable CLARKSON, in the serene and beautiful evening of his illustrious life, renews to us from year to year his words of sympathy and of counsel. Though bending beneath the weight of nearly ninety winters, his heart still glows with the ardor of youth in the great cause of human liberty. Not content with the success which has crowned his own conflict with Slavery, in his native land, he is eager to give to us the countenance of his great name and the wisdom of his long experience, in the struggle in which we are plunged. His appeals to the American people in behalf of their slaves have produced a wide and deep impression, and have summoned into the field, within the last year, the latest, and ablest, champion of Slavery, in the person of Governor HAMMOND of South Carolina. He understands the philosophy and the history of our movement, and renders justice to him who began it. "Our great cause," says the Patriarch of Anti-Slavery, speaking of

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, "our great cause is deeply indebted to him, for there was a time when it slept, and could not have been recovered, unless he had kept the flame alive." It is to him, too, that we owe the knowledge of the Anti-Slavery testimony of LAFAYETTE, in his latter days—"I WOULD NEVER HAVE DRAWN MY SWORD IN THE CAUSE OF AMERICA, IF I COULD HAVE CONCEIVED THAT THEREBY I WAS FOUNDED A LAND OF SLAVERY!" In an old age, which has survived the detractions and enmities of his crowded prime, he enjoys the pure triumphs of his beneficent victories, amid the unanimous veneration of the age. May it yet be long ere death shall set his seal upon his fame, and summon him from the scenes of his toils and of his glory!

We have received from our Anti-Slavery friends in England fresh assurances and proofs of their continued sympathy with us and those whose rights we maintain. Contributions, valuable for their intrinsic worth, but more valuable for the spirit of which they were the signs, enriched the tables of the Annual Bazaar, from friends in London, Bristol, Darlington, Birmingham, and many other places. We hope to deserve a continuance of their friendship and confidence by our fidelity in the great cause which is our bond of union.

#### SCOTLAND.

In Scotland the agitation which was excited by the course of the delegates of the Free Church to the United States, in receiving the money of Slaveholders for their pious uses, has by no means subsided. The demand still continues to be heard for the return of the price of blood. We entered fully into this question in our last report, and have not time to trace the history of the past year's labor in this behalf. The consistent Abolitionists of Scotland have had the assistance of our beloved friend HENRY C. WRIGHT, whose experience in the

wars with Slavery at home, makes him an invaluable auxiliary in such a battle. He has been indefatigable in his labors and has been rewarded with the hatred of his antagonists and the confidence and approbation of his coadjutors. He published in the Glasgow Argus a series of letters on "the Dissolution of the American Union demanded by Justice and Humanity, as the incurable enemy of Liberty ;" in which he established his position by the most irrefragable proofs. He also addressed "a letter to the Rev. Drs. CHALMERS, CANDLISH and CUNNINGHAM, on Christian fellowship with Slaveholders ;" in which he exposed the absurdity and wickedness of the attempt of those ministers to cover up and palliate the sin of Slaveholding, in the clearest and most emphatic manner. Another letter "to the members of the Free Church," briefly but stringently urged upon them the duty of sending back the money obtained of Slaveholders. These letters have since been published collectively, and we trust will receive the circulation and attention which they deserve. We apprehend that the Seceding Kirk will find a correct attitude on this subject to be essential to a Church that depends for its existence on the voluntary respect and free-will offerings of the people.

The Reformed Presbytery of Edinburgh, on the 30th of April, passed unanimously a series of resolutions in reference to American Slavery and Church-fellowship with Slaveholders, which were of the most thorough and uncompromising character. They covered the whole ground, and might serve as a model for consistent Church action upon Slavery.

The Glasgow Emancipation Society have continued their zealous and useful labors, without cessation or weariness. Wherever there has been a testimony needed, their vigilant eyes have marked the necessity, and their faithful voices have uplifted it before the world. It would be impossible for us to enumerate the occasions on which they have uttered the needful word, at the moment it was wanted. Among their other good works they have published an address "on the Amer-

ican Board of Foreign Missions, and the Rev. Dr. Chalmers on Christian-fellowship with Slaveholders, to Christians of all denominations, but especially to the Free Church." The topics of this address may be inferred from its title, but it should be read to do justice to the manner in which they are handled. They have also prepared a Memorial and Remonstrance to the Office-bearers and members of the Protestant Churches in America, expressing their sense of the sin of Slavery, of the duty of refusing Church-fellowship to those who practice or tolerate it, and their sympathy with those Churches that had withdrawn such fellowship. This memorial they took means to have extensively signed for the purpose of being transmitted to this country. It is a just source of satisfaction and encouragement to know that we have the approbation and assistance of such spirits in our difficult conflict with Slavery.

To the women of Scotland, particularly those of Edinburgh and Glasgow, we again offer our cordial thanks, in the Slave's behalf, for the labor of their hands freely given for his sake. The Anti-Slavery Bazaar was indebted to them for many of its choicest treasures, possessing a value not to be estimated in money, as the proofs of their devotion to the cause of them that have no helper. They neither need, nor ask for, the reward of our thanks, for what was but a relief to their own hearts and consciences. But we can assure them that the unselfish motives of their labor are fully appreciated by us, and that its fruits shall be applied, with the most conscientious fidelity, to the purpose for which it was bestowed,—the advancement of our common cause.

#### IRELAND.

The Abolitionists, and the people of Ireland, have given us, during the past year, renewed and increased proofs of their

sympathy with us and their abhorrence of Slavery. Their words of protest and remonstrance have been uttered against its abominations, in public and private. On the 4th of August, at a meeting of the Repeal Association, Mr. JOHN O'CONNELL, M. P., eldest son of the Liberator, vindicated his hereditary hatred of oppression, by an eloquent and fervid denunciation of Slavery, worthy of the son of O'CONNELL. It called forth a defender of the Slaveholders in a Mr. SCOTT, one of the exceptions, it is to be hoped, which form the general rule of Irish Abolitionism, who undertook to censure Mr. O'CONNELL for introducing the subject on that platform, and thus obstructing the free course of Slaveholders' funds into the treasury. This gave Mr. O'CONNELL a fresh occasion to repeat and enforce his positions in a yet more indignant strain of eloquence, which appears to have carried his audience enthusiastically along with him. This speech was extensively read in this country, and encouraged the hearts of the foes, while it enraged those of the friends, of the infernal slave system.

We have been in frequent and profitable communication with our Anti-Slavery Irish friends, whose assistance and sympathies are ever seeking new forms of expression and fresh channels of communication. Their enlarged philanthropy and far-reaching philosophy teach them the folly, as well as the narrowness, of the doctrine that would limit their sympathy and their efforts to the wrongs and the redemption of their own oppressed countrymen. They scorn and repudiate the base and servile spirit that pronounces the condition of the Irish peasant, or the English laborer, to be equally degraded with that of the American Slave. They see plainly that the gulf which separates their Sovereign from the meanest of her subjects, is not so vast or so impassable, as the abyss which is fixed between that humble freeman and the most favored of the American bondmen. They know that the most abject beggar in Ireland, the most wretched of the starving operatives of England, would spurn as an insult a proposition to exchange

his condition for that of the "fattest and sleekest" of the slaves of HENRY CLAY. They perceive that the existence of American Slavery is the chief obstruction to the progress of liberal principles and of wise reformation throughout the world; and that they cannot expend their energies better, even on the attainment of their domestic ends, than to put them forth for the destruction of an institution, in a bragging Republic, which strengthens the hands and encourages the heart of tyranny everywhere. They feel that it is vain to expect the deliverance of the Irish, or of the English, laborer from his distress and debasement, so long as the laborers of half the model Republic are ranked with household stuff and beasts of burden, by the democratic despots of America. Therefore, they are sure that it is no fanatical folly, but the wisest forecast, as well as the most enlightened humanity, which leads them to extend their helping hands to the American Slave. These, we apprehend to be the just and liberal views to which we owe the steady and intelligent assistance of the true-hearted Abolitionists, not of Ireland only, but of the British Empire.

The zeal of the Anti-Slavery men and women of Ireland, as well as those of England and Scotland, was made manifest this year by their works in the shape of larger and more valuable contributions to the Massachusetts Bazaar, than even they had ever before bestowed upon it. The elegant industry of the women of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and other places, adorned its tables with many of their chiefest ornaments, and largely contributed to the brilliant result of the Bazaar. In the name of the three millions of American Slaves whom we serve, we thank them for these tokens of their remembrance of them and confidence in us. In return for their still increasing munificence we can only promise to be faithful stewards of their bounty, and to endeavor with our best judgment, to employ it for the speedier downfall of American Slavery.

## FREDERIC DOUGLASS.

Our Irish friends have had the pleasure and the advantage of the assistance of our eloquent and faithful friend FREDERIC DOUGLASS, during part of the Summer and Autumn. He was received with the proverbial hospitality of Ireland, and welcomed in the threefold character of a Stranger, an Abolitionist and a Slave. Wherever he has been, he has met with the most cordial of receptions from all classes, who seem to have rejoiced in the opportunity to rebuke the American spirit of *caste* by their attentions to this representative of the colored man and the Slave. He has been everywhere an object of public and private hospitality; his public meetings have been thronged by enthusiastic audiences; and his influence on the Anti-Slavery feeling of Ireland is believed to have been most beneficial.

Mr. DOUGLASS, towards the close of the last Spring, published the history of his life, containing his own personal narrative of Slavery. This little book taught by examples the cruel workings of the system of Slavery, in a region where its burden is comparatively light, and the plainness of the narration and the simplicity of the style made it attractive to all classes of readers. A numerous impression was disposed of previous to Mr. DOUGLASS's departure, and it was, and will continue to be, a very helpful addition to our Anti-Slavery literature.

Mr. DOUGLASS sailed for England in the steam-packet of the middle of August. As he approached the shores of England he helped to give a new proof that men do not change their hearts by changing their climate. He was invited by Captain JUDKINS, at the request of many passengers, to deliver an Anti-Slavery address. The fidelity and force with which he portrayed the nature of Slavery, illustrated by quotations from

the Slave laws, excited the rage of Slaveholders, and their Northern abettors, and the deck of Her Majesty's mail-packet was made the scene of an American mob. Violence was threatened, if not attempted, but was promptly put down by the vigorous interposition of Captain JUDKINS. The conduct of this gentleman was such as might have been expected from a British officer, when his authority was defied on the deck of his own ship. He soon gave the rioters to understand distinctly that they were beyond the jurisdiction of Lynch Law, and out of the regions where the pistol and bowie-knife are supreme. Though the firmness of Captain JUDKINS prevented any actual bodily harm being offered to Mr. DOUGLASS, still the uproar was such that his address was drowned and shortened by it. The conduct of Captain JUDKINS in maintaining the right of Mr. DOUGLASS to speak on the subject of Slavery, in spite of the ill-manners and ruffianly behavior of his countrymen, deserved high honor, and received the universal approbation of the British public. That it drew down upon his head the vituperation of the scurile pro-Slavery press of this country, he will only esteem as an additional proof of merit.

Mr. DOUGLASS was accompanied by our long-tried and excellent friend and colleague, JAMES N. BUFFUM, one of the Vice Presidents of this Society. This gentleman has shared in the hospitable attentions shown to Mr. DOUGLASS, and has done our cause good service by his private intercourse with our friends, and by his public addresses. These gentlemen intend visiting England and Scotland, before they return to us again, and, ill as we can spare their services at home, we cannot doubt that their visit to the British Islands will be attended by permanent benefits to the Anti-Slavery enterprise, by the formation of new links, and the strengthening of those already formed, that connect us with the friends of freedom in the mother country.

At the same time with Mr. BUFFUM and Mr. DOUGLASS,

the HUTCHINSON Family, who have so often increased the interest of our public meetings by their songs of freedom, crossed the ocean on a professional visit to England. Their Anti-Slavery melodies must help to keep alive the remembrance of the American Slave in the British mind, and to enforce his claims by this high kind of eloquence. We cordially wish them all success, and a speedy return to their former field of Anti-Slavery action.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The American Anti-Slavery Society held its Eleventh Anniversary in the Tabernacle, in the city of New York, on the 8th of May. It was very numerously attended and was addressed with great effect by Mr. GARRISON, the President of the Society, Mr. PHILLIPS, Mr. SANDERSON, Miss HITCHCOCK, Mr. BELL, of Kentucky, Mr. GREW and Mr. DOUGLASS. The speeches were of the highest order of talent, and fitly uttered the vital principle of the Society, "NO UNION, POLITICAL OR ECCLESIASTICAL, WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

The business meetings were held immediately after the Anniversary, and lasted, in all, three days. It was a meeting of singular unanimity. There seemed to be no vexed question to divide the opinions of the members. The grave points as to what course duty to the Slave required of Abolitionists, towards the Church and towards the State, which had excited such warm discussions in times past, were all now settled in the general Anti-Slavery mind. At last, the Abolitionists of the country were brought into line against the hosts of Slavery, with no material difference of opinion as to the method or the tactics of their warfare. But though those present were generally of one mind in all important points, still there was no lack of animation and interest in the discussions. The

whole ground of Anti-Slavery duty in the Church and in the world was reviewed, and the impregnable strength of the position of the Society demonstrated. It was a meeting from which all retired comforted and encouraged.

It is a gratifying circumstance that the Treasurer, Mr. JACKSON, was able to state to the Society, that, for the first time for many years, if not since its formation, it was out of debt. The rigid economy enforced by the Executive Committee, aided by the large amount of labor performed without compensation, had enabled them to discharge all the former debts of the Society and to conduct its business entirely on the principle of cash payments. To no one person was this fortunate state of things so largely owing as to SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, whose disinterested readiness to perform the triple duties of editor, assistant treasurer and office agent, for a very frugal subsistence, should entitle him to the grateful respect of all who feel an interest in the cause. It was due to the fortunate circumstance that a man was found, at this critical period, uniting to singular tact and talent as an editor, the experience and method of a man of business, who was willing to undertake this great amount of labor, in the solitude of a strange city, asking for nothing that could be called a remuneration, that the Society was so soon freed from its embarrassments and placed on a basis of justice and efficiency.

In the editorial department of the paper, Mr. GAY has had the occasional assistance of MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN and EDMUND QUINCY, whose services are, of course, wholly and strictly gratuitous. The duties of the general agency have been performed by WENDELL PHILLIPS without money and without price, as have been those of the Treasurership by FRANCIS JACKSON. These facts are mentioned, to illustrate the principle on which the cause is now conducted, with regard to the expenditure of funds. All those who have the means of subsistence from any other source, are expected to

contribute as much of their time and labor as their sense of duty demands, without any pecuniary recompense. Those who have no extrinsic means of livelihood, and whose services are indispensable to the cause, are allowed what they, in view of its necessities, consider absolutely indispensable to a bare subsistence. In this way, a very moderate sum of money is made to do a work greater than would seem to be possible in view of its amount. None are expected, or asked, to come into this enterprise with any hope of selfish advantage, — none who are not willing to spend and be spent in its service. The scanty revenue of the Slave is only to be taxed for what is necessary to procure for him the service he needs. That service is due to him as a free-will offering, wherever, and to whatever extent, it is practicable. These are the views which guide the action of this Society, as well as of the Parent Society, and we believe their justice is acknowledged by all whom they concern. And, this being the state of things, we feel free to call upon the Abolitionists to pour their gifts into the treasury of the Slave, as they must feel sure that it is for his sake, and not for our own, that we ask it.

#### NEW ENGLAND CONVENTION.

This annual assembly of the Abolitionists of New England, and of the country at large, again vindicated to itself the character it has long maintained of being the most interesting and attractive of all our Anti-Slavery gatherings. It was held in the Marlboro' Chapel, in Boston, on May 27th, and continued its sessions for three days. The pro-Slavery Churches and the political parties, implicated alike in the support of the Slave System, by the allegiance which they all acknowledge to the National Constitution, were again rebuked, and the Slaveholding compact, itself, freshly denounced. A

pledge was introduced and, after full discussion, adopted, binding those who took it to refuse to vote for a candidate for any office, either State or National, the entrance upon which requires an oath or affirmation to support the Government of the United States, under the existing Constitution. This pledge, together with another, recommended by this Board, by which they who took it engaged to take no part in any war that might grow out of the Annexation of Texas, were afterwards extensively circulated and signed.

The meeting was diversified by an attempt by the Rev. J. B. PINNEY, formerly Governor of Liberia, and still a Colonization Agent, to justify Slavery from the Bible, in an elaborate argument. The patience with which he was heard was a proof at once of the confidence of Abolitionists in the truth of their principles, and of the freedom of the meeting, at which even the fit representative of the inhuman principles of that atrocious conspiracy against the colored race, could be heard in their defence. The absurdity and wickedness of his positions were exposed in a masterly and scathing manner by Mr. PHILLIPS, Dr. WALTER CHANNING, and Mr. GARRISON.

The last evening of the Convention was distinguished by a riot excited by a speech of Mr. PILLSBURY, in which he exposed in temperate and chaste, though impressive, language the guilt and inconsistency of the American Church, and particularly its inferiority in practical righteousness, in the matter of human Slavery, to Catholicism and Mahometanism. The audience was immense, and the general desire was for peace, but the rioters were numerous enough to make it impossible for the speaker to be heard. But the indignation which such an outrage excited in all sorts of people, and the general discussion which it caused of the truths which had given rise to it, more than compensated for the loss of that golden opportunity. The sessions of the Convention were uniformly well attended and often crowded, and it was generally allowed to be the most attractive of all the gatherings of the Anniversary

week. It left an impression on the community, as well as on its members, such as we desire to create by our public assemblies.

#### ANTI-SLAVERY OPERATIONS.

Notwithstanding the withdrawal of some of our agents to other fields of labor, and notwithstanding ill-health and other imperative calls have prevented much of the voluntary service, on which we commonly depend, a healthful agitation has been maintained in the State. In April, Mr. PHILLIPS, who had been our general agent, since the resignation of Mr. COLLINS, and had zealously and faithfully discharged its arduous and laborious duties, without any compensation, was compelled by circumstances beyond his control, to resign his office. Mr. CHARLES K. WHIPPLE was appointed his successor, on the 13th of May, and performed its duties in a most industrious and acceptable manner until the 12th of December, when he was succeeded, upon his resignation, by Mr. LORING MOODY, who now is the general agent of the Society. The experience which Mr. MOODY has had, and the acquaintance he has made with Abolitionists, in various parts of the State, during his agency in behalf of Captain WALKER, indicated him as a suitable person for the office. We have no doubt that he will so fill it as to deserve the confidence of the Society he represents, and to be an efficient laborer in the Anti-Slavery vineyard.

Messrs. CHARLES LENOX REMOND, PARKER PILLSBURY, ADDISON DAVIS and WILLIAM HENRY CHANNING, have lectured in various parts of the State to much acceptance and with a good effect. We have had the advantage of the voluntary labor of Messrs. ADIN BALLOU and GEORGE W. STACY, in some portions of the State. Mr. DOUGLASS lectured with his usual assiduity (excepting when interrupted by the compo-

sition of his narrative) previous to his voyage to England. Mr. PHILLIPS and M<sup>r</sup>. GARRISON have attended Conventions and public meetings and delivered addresses in divers places, during the year, though Mr. GARRISON's labors in the field have been diminished by impaired health, and Mr. PHILLIPS's, by other imperative demands of duty. Mr. LUNSFORD LANE was employed for some time in the Western Counties, by our faithful friend ABNER BELCHER, for Anti-Slavery purposes; and since his return home, Dr. E. D. HUDSON has been sent into the same field, by the same clear-sighted and unwearied Abolitionist. The County Societies have held their regular meetings and have produced a good effect in the region round about them. The Rev. CALEB STETSON, the Rev. THEODORE PARKER, JOHN W. BROWNE, Esq. and other gentlemen, have delivered lectures in various places, which have given much satisfaction to the Abolitionists and have done excellent service. The Anti-Texas agitation was carried on mainly on Anti-Slavery grounds, and was the means of throwing much light on the subject of Slavery upon thousands of minds. We believe that all these efforts, imperfect as they are when compared with the greatness of the object to be accomplished, have carried forward the general mind of Massachusetts to a point far in advance of where it stood a twelvemonth since.

JONATHAN WALKER.

We have derived signal assistance in our Anti-Slavery progress this year from the help that has been extended to us by the branded hand of JONATHAN WALKER. In our last Report we told the story of his arrest, trial and punishment for the crime of exercising hospitality to helpless fellow-men who had claimed his protection. He remained in gaol for non-payment of his fine, until the Summer, when he was

released by the interposition of Captain SMALL, who advanced out of slender means the sum necessary for his discharge. Sufficient funds for this purpose, and for all the expenses of his trial, had been raised in Massachusetts, but being imprudently committed to dishonest hands, they never were applied to their proper use. Captain WALKER arrived in Massachusetts towards the end of July, and addressed public meetings in many towns. He also prepared a narrative of his experiences, which was published at an early period, and met with an extensive sale. The personal presence of this excellent man, and the revelations of his book, were among the most efficient of the Anti-Slavery instrumentalities of the last year.

#### NORTHERN PRISONERS AT THE SOUTH.

The fortunate deliverance and safe return of Captain ALKER, call forcibly to remembrance the unhappy case of those who are yet wearing out their lives of captivity in Southern penitentiaries for the same humane offence. Messrs. BURR and THOMPSON are still confined in the penitentiary of Missouri, under the sentence passed upon them several years ago. Mr. WORK, their companion in suffering, has been released and restored to his family, in consequence of interest made in his behalf with the Executive of the State. Mr. TORREY remains a prisoner in the penitentiary at Baltimore, and from the latest accounts of his condition, he seems to have but small hopes of deliverance, unless it be by the hand of death. Mr. FAIRBANKS's trial, which had not occurred at the time of our last Report, took place on the 15th of February. He retracted his first plea of "not guilty," and, if the testimony of the Kentucky newspapers is to be believed, endeavored to procure a lenient sentence, by expressing his contrition for his offence, and his conviction that the ef-

forts of the abolitionists had been of mischievous effect. Notwithstanding these submissions, he received the severe sentence of fifteen years' imprisonment. Miss WEBSTER received a speedy pardon, and since her return home has published a narrative in which she endeavors to prove that it was no more than she deserved, for her innocence of the humanity laid to her charge. We have seen statements of other recent cases of arrest for this act in the South ; but the accounts are not sufficiently authentic to require recapitulation at this time.

An occurrence has taken place in Ohio which has caused a strong sensation there. Some months since a party of Virginians from Parkersburgh, crossed to the opposite bank of the Ohio and arrested three individuals charged with assisting in the escape of slaves. They were committed to gaol, tried and convicted, and their sentence suspended to await the decision of the highest judicature, on the point whether the jurisdiction of Virginia extended to the opposite shore of the Ohio, or ceased on her own ! Great excitement has prevailed in that region of Ohio. The parties engaged in the arrest have been indicted, and their delivery for trial demanded of the Governor of Virginia, it is needless to add, in vain. It can hardly be believed that the people of Ohio will submit to this insult to their sovereignty ; and preparations have been mad : at Parkersburgh, in apprehension of an attack on the town with a view to the rescue of the prisoners.

The very fact of these attempts for the deliverance of Slaves, proves the great change which has taken place in the popular mind, as to their right to freedom, since the days when not a voice was uplifted, nor a hand stretched forth, to help them. This change we may fairly claim as the result of the Anti-Slavery movement. If that movement never accomplishes any thing else, it has already been the means of the deliverance of thousands from the house of bondage, by opening a way for their escape, and raising up willing friends to assist them. And the very violences and outrages, which

this state of things produces in the South, may well prove to be the means of opening the eyes of the North to the incompatibility of the existence of their own rights with a political union founded on the denial of their equal rights to others.

#### FIRST OF AUGUST.

This high feast-day of freedom was again celebrated with all due joyfulness and gratitude by the Abolitionists of Massachusetts. Meetings were held at convenient points in various parts of the State, and the number of persons who gathered together to hear the happiness of the British freedmen contrasted with the misery of our Slaves, was probably never exceeded on any former Anniversary. *Pic-nics* were held in Waltham, Dedham, Danvers, Leicester, Duxbury, Fall River and Westminster, and doubtless in other places. The voice of eloquence and of song resounded through the natural temples in which they were held, and cheered the hearts and strengthened the spirits of those who thronged them from the fields of Anti-Slavery warfare, as they told that Emancipation, under a vertical sun, is not a dream, but a reality; no longer prophecy, but already history.

The colored citizens of Boston, also, solemnised the day by a procession, with appropriate banners, addresses at the Tremont Temple, and a *Soiree* in the evening.

#### THE WEST.

The chief scene of the Anti-Slavery operations of the year was the great West, where a great and good work was effected, under the auspices of the American Society. Our eloquent and unwearied friends, STEPHEN S. FOSTER, ABBY KELLEY, ELIZABETH JANE HITCHCOCK, BENJAMIN S. JONES,

and others, have preached the gospel of no fellowship with the works of darkness, the doctrine of NO UNION WITH SLAVE-HOLDERS, over a wide extent of country, and have met with a degree of success surpassing our most sanguine hopes. Many have received the truths that they have uttered in their ears, and have come out from the churches and the parties to which they formerly belonged. One of the most valuable accessions to our ranks of Disunion, among many, was SAMUEL BROOKE, formerly an active member of the Liberty Party, and who is now the General Agent of the American Society for the Western States. Under his efficient direction we anticipate a series of victorious campaigns, until our warfare is crowned with an illustrious victory.

It is impossible for us to trace the prospects of these devoted friends of the Slave, even in a general sketch. They will more properly come within the scope of the Report of the Parent Society. All we can say is, that the West was never in a more healthful or hopeful state, as regards the Anti-Slavery cause, and that this happy condition of things is to be mainly attributed to the disinterested labors of the Abolitionists we have mentioned. From their industry and skill in sowing the rich soil which was so well ploughed up by the Hundred Conventions of 1843, we confidently expect a glorious harvest.

Among the other results of their toils, one that promises extensive and permanent usefulness, is the establishment of a weekly paper, as the organ of the Ohio American Anti-Slavery Society. This paper is now published at Salem, Ohio, and is conducted by Miss HITCHCOCK and Mr. JONES. In their faithful hands we may be sure that "THE BUGLE" will give no uncertain sound, but that its clear tones will resound over the prairies of the West, summoning the people to the battle of liberty, and giving the signal for its bloodless onset on the hosts of Slavery.

## THE ANTI-SLAVERY PRESS.

There has been no change during the year in the management or in the character of the Anti-Slavery presses, which form so essential a part of our machinery.

THE LIBERATOR still keeps the love and confidence of the Abolitionists, by the same fearless assertion of the highest Anti-Slavery principle, and the same resolute demand for absolute right, untainted by a selfish expediency, which originally obtained them. The enemies of the cause instinctively recognise the LIBERATOR as the oracle, and its editor as the incarnation, of the most dangerous Anti-Slavery, and they honor both with a hatred proportionably deep and bitter. While they shall continue to deserve this pregnant testimony to their thorough fidelity, let them not fail to receive the answering witness of a cordial and ample support from those who accept their principles and honor their spirit.

The NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD remains in the hands of the same Committee of Editorship that conducted it a year ago; and the burden of labor and responsibility still rests, as it did then, upon MR. GAY, to whose disinterested and able service we have borne our testimony in another place.

The HERALD OF FREEDOM continues to be published by the New Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society, and is still in the editorial hands of PARKER PILLSBURY, who has given himself, his long experience and his eminent talents, to the task, with a singleness of heart and an unselfishness of spirit above all praise. The Abolitionists of New Hampshire and of the country are deeply indebted to JACOB H. ELA, the printer of the HERALD, for a generous devotion of himself, his time and his means to its support, to which we probably owe its continued existence. It is to be hoped that the burden he has

been so nobly willing to bear for the Cause's sake, will be cheerfully shared by others, as soon as the sacrifices he has made for their benefit, and that of the Slave, are known.

The PENNSYLVANIA FREEMAN has been regularly published, semi-monthly, during the year, and we are glad to learn that it is, henceforward, to appear every week. The soundness of its doctrine, the excellence of its spirit, and the talent of its execution commend it to the support and confidence of the Abolitionists everywhere.

We are happy to perceive on the part of many presses, not professedly Anti-Slavery, an increasing willingness to discuss the philosophy and the facts of Slavery, and its influence on the free States. Some of these prints occupy the same ground, and put forth the same propositions, which, ten years ago, brought down upon the Abolitionists the fiery indignation of the pro-slavery fanaticism of that day. We recognise in this fact another proof of the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause, and a fresh argument for the soundness of our philosophy in always advancing to whatever new height of duty we could discern before us, without waiting for those behind to overtake us. The progress of the rear has always been in due proportion to that of the van-guard.

We think that the attention of Abolitionists cannot be too often, or too strongly, directed to the duty of sustaining the faithful organs of their principles and helping them to the widest circulation. The Anti-Slavery papers are the levers upon which we must mainly rely to detach the system of Slavery from its stronghold in the indifference or selfishness of the northern hearts. Their regular visitations are needed to prepare the way for the lecturer, and to confirm and finish his work. They are mutually helpful to each other, and every lecturer knows how much help or hindrance is derived from the quality of the Anti-Slavery organs. But the living speakers must of necessity be few and far between, while the silent speech of the faithful paper falls pregnantly on the at-

tention of many in widely distant places, and is a medium of communication of thought and of sympathy. Every where, if conducted with fidelity and ability, they keep alive in the minds of the people, even of those who refuse to read them, the knowledge that there are Slaves in the land, and that there is a movement for their deliverance.

The best service which Abolitionists can do for their organs is, of course, to extend their circulation, and thus help them to support themselves. But it is not to be expected that in all, if in any, cases, publications embodying truths the most generally odious, can be made self-sustaining. It is no argument, in their case, as it might be in that of a political or literary paper, that because their receipts are not sufficient to meet their expenses, they are not needed. The opposite presumption would be more likely to be just, paradoxical as it may sound, that, as soon as an Anti-Slavery paper can command an extensive and remunerating patronage, it is no longer a necessary or a useful agent; because, such a result could hardly be attained unless it had either accomplished its work, and might give way to the other instrumentalities it had raised up, or unless it had made sacrifices of principle to popularity fatal to its vital energy. People, of course, cannot be expected to pay for papers which attack a system with which they think their own interest is identified, or which expose the guilty participation in it of themselves, or of the political or religious institutions which hedge it round, and which they have been taught to adore with a blind reverence. The unpalatable, though healing, medicine must be furnished by the hands of those who believe in its virtue.

We think, therefore, and we are confident of your concurrence in this opinion, that where an Anti-Slavery paper is conducted with acknowledged ability, and fails of sustaining itself merely on account of its fidelity to its unpopular principles, it is the duty and the privilege of Abolitionists to provide for the deficiency. Anti-Slavery prints are only needed as

the organs of truths and principles which the world is not yet ready to receive. When those truths and principles are so generally acknowledged as to command the support of the world, the necessity of specific organs is done away with. When, therefore, Anti-Slavery papers are managed with the most rigid adherence to economy, (which we can affirm, of our own knowledge, as to the LIBERATOR, STANDARD and HERALD, and believe to be equally true of the FREEMAN and the BUGLE,) and at the same time with talent and fidelity, we are of opinion that Anti-Slavery funds cannot be better expended than in helping to maintain them. We regard it, therefore, as the duty of those who may stand in our place, at any time of emergency, should such arise, to call upon the Abolitionists of the State, and of the country, to come to the rescue of any of these instrumentalities, which may be in want of pecuniary support.

#### ANTI-SLAVERY FAIRS.

The treasury of the American Slaves has been again indebted to the women of this State, and of other parts of the country and the world, for the chief of the gifts that have been poured into it. The Anti-Slavery Fairs seem now to have consolidated themselves into one of the "domestic institutions" of the Anti-Slavery States. The last Massachusetts Bazaar was the most brilliant of any yet held, and met with a corresponding success. Faneuil Hall was granted for its use, and the ample accommodations afforded an opportunity for the display of its elegant stores, which it had never yet enjoyed. Besides the contributions from the other side of the Atlantic, of which we have already spoken, the abundance and beauty of those from all parts of this and other States, showed that the zeal of the Anti-Slavery women of the country had not waxed cold, but that it would endure

and increase even unto the end. The attendance of the public was beyond all former example, as the result, nearly four thousand dollars, sufficiently proves. The LIBERTY BELL appeared in an enlarged form, and with more than its former beauty of execution, and was filled with the productions of many of the finest geniuses and truest philanthropists of both worlds. Public addresses were made on several of the evenings of the Fair by Messrs. PHILLIPS, J. F. CLARKE, LEWIS HAVEN, W. A. WHITE, E. H. CHAPIN, C. C. BURLEIGH, ADDISON DAVIS, REMOND, T. B. STONE, QUINCY, JOHN P. HALE, HENRY WILSON and others. This Bazaar surpassed all its predecessors, not merely in its pecuniary result, but in its cheering effects on the Abolitionists, and its beneficial influence on the Public.

Fairs for the benefit of the Massachusetts Society have also been held in Salem, Fitchburgh, Upton, Uxbridge and Weymouth, and perhaps elsewhere, with most gratifying success, both as to their pecuniary and moral results. We are sure that with such gratifying experiences, or examples, of success, that the women of Massachusetts will never grow weary in this good work, nor withhold from those that have none to succor them the assistance of their helping hands.

#### THE POLITICAL PARTIES.—THE WHIG PARTY.

The Whig Party is still at the helm of affairs in this Commonwealth. Though its power was greatly shaken at the last election, it is still in the ascendant in the councils of the State. This party has publicly professed itself to be an Anti-Slavery Party, and it has spoken brave words as to the subversion of the National Constitution, and the violation of the rights of Massachusetts by the Slave Power. It remains to be proved by the action of the Legislature now in session whether they were merely great swelling words of vanity, or

whether they did indeed express the settled convictions and resolute purpose of those who uttered them. It was tauntingly said in South Carolina, previous to the Revolution, "the people of Massachusetts Bay can *talk*, VOTE and RESOLVE, but their doings are not correspondent!" We all know how this sneer was refuted by the resistance of Massachusetts to an invasion of the British Constitution which exposed them to be taxed without representation; the hours are now passing over our heads which will prove whether she has not so degenerated from her former self as slavishly to submit to infractions of the American Constitution, which place her and all her interests at the irresponsible disposal of her natural enemies,—the smallest and vilest oligarchy that ever disgraced the earth;—who, as the first fruits of their sovereignty, seize, imprison and sell into everlasting Slavery her own sons, and forbid her interference in their behalf, on pain of infamous punishments to her ambassadors.

To the Whig Party, mainly, is due the credit of the degree of spirit and manliness which the State has manifested in this hour of revolution. To the Whig Party will belong the infamy, should History have to tell that it was but a vaporizing and braggart spirit and an abominable imitation of manliness that they opposed to these incursions of the Slave Power. While we would not condemn its action in advance, we cannot but say that an honorable and courageous course would signally falsify the signs by which it has been harbingered. A Whig Legislative Convention was held at the State House on February 19th, at which a series of resolutions were passed, defining the position of the Whigs of Massachusetts. They opened with a resolution declaring that they "now are, and will remain, honest supporters of the Constitution of the United States, as it is, until changed according to its own provisions!" And while they continue to yield obedience to its mandates, they also claim its protection and guaranty, as

their shield and defence ! ” They proceeded to protest against the Annexation of Texas, and against the conduct of South Carolina and Louisiana, intimating their willingness to abide by the decision of a Slaveholding Supreme Court, should it be in derogation of the sovereign rights of Massachusetts, and conclude lamely and unprofitably, as they had begun, by pledging themselves “to the State and to the country to keep the old Bay State where she is, where she has been, and where we trust she may ever be, THE FRIEND OF THE UNION, THE WHOLE UNION, THE UNION AS IT IS ! ” It was not thus that their fathers spoke of the Constitutional Union which bound them to the mother country, when it became plain that such union was incompatible with their natural and civil rights ! Would they have encountered, with a resolute resistance, the might of the British King, if they had foreseen the kind of liberty they were to purchase for their sons, and the degenerate spirit they should transmit to them ?

Again, at a Convention held in the Autumn in Faneuil Hall, fairly representing, it is to be presumed, the sentiments of the Massachusetts Whigs, an Address was adopted, which, after recapitulating the opinions which the State had expressed on the subject of the Annexation of Texas, and declaring that she could not be brought into the Union except by a perversion of the powers and the prostration of the bulwarks of the Federal Constitution, contains the following significant BUT,—a conjunction in which there is much virtue,—“ BUT, *Massachusetts makes no factious opposition to this, or any other, act of the General Government; she has no sympathy with nullification!* ” But “ this and all other questions of similar origin and character ” (meaning, undoubtedly, the rights of Massachusetts’ citizens in Southern States) “ she submits to the AUGUST TRIBUNAL which the Government has provided ” for such emergencies,—meaning the Supreme Court, of which a majority of the Bench are Slave-breeders, and the whole the ready tools of Slavery !

What, we should like to know, remains for a State, when it finds the powers and bulwarks of the constitution to which it looked for its "shield and defence" perverted and prostrated, and a new Slaveholding Government erected on its ruins, having for its object the perpetuation of the servitude of the blacks and of the vassalage of the whites, but NULLIFICATION? What remedy has Massachusetts but to throw herself back on her reserved rights, and to declare that the Union, as far as she is concerned, is at an end, and that she will henceforth stand or fall by herself, or in confederacy only with Free States? What care the Slaveholders for the spirit that vapors within the walls of the State House or of Faneuil Hall, bragging of what Massachusetts has done in hostility to Slavery, as long as she is pledged by the oaths of her political servants, to sustain Slavery, if need be, by the whole of her physical force, and suffers her fields to be exposed to the chase of the Slave-hunter? Massachusetts may "*talk, vote and resolve*" in favor of liberty, as long "*as her doings are not correspondent*,"—as long as she consents to *act* in behalf of Slavery,—and the Slaveholders regard her not. But let her words be followed by consistent action, and they will feel that the sceptre is departing from them.

The present is the most critical hour in the history of Massachusetts, and it depends upon the deeds that are crowded into it, whether she shall stand on a height of glory such as she has never yet attained; or be sunk to a depth of infamy which she has never dreamed. She is now to prove whether her words of grace in times past in behalf of universal liberty and of her own individual rights were of any significance, or whether they were empty boasts, which she was ready to forswear at the first bidding of her masters. If she be in earnest and ready to clothe her words in deeds of weight, she will take the lead in the onward march of free principles, and be indeed the "*model Republic*" of the world. If she consent to submit in silence, or with words of remonstrance,

deserving only of contempt, to the revolution which has made Slavery instead of liberty the vital principle of the nation, she will give the lie to herself, prove herself to be a braggart and a fool, and merit, what she will receive, the scorn of all who have heard her words and beheld her deeds. Let her direct her Senators and Representatives, at Washington, to leave the National Legislature, when the Senators and Representatives of Texas enter it, and return to their constituents; let her call a Convention of the people and prepare a new Constitution and put forth a new Declaration of Independence; let her but carry out to their legitimate results her own declarations before the world, in this behalf; let her endure with a sublime patience the evils she may have to encounter, in consequence of her vindication of her right of counter-revolution in behalf of liberty and her own rights; and she will achieve for herself the blessings which the Constitution of the United States had failed to secure,—substantial liberty and a true self-government. This is the only course left for Massachusetts to pursue, consistently with her self-respect, her rights and her honor. If she suffer this golden moment to pass, and, after all her professions and reclamations, continue to take part in the newly-erected government, she will deserve all the indignities and injuries which will be her portion, and will justly sink in her own esteem, and in the opinion of the world, below the degradation of those States which have helped forward the revolution by their servile acclamations.

#### THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

It is only necessary to say of the party styling itself the Democratic, that it has continued to merit the applause of the South by the abjectness of its prostration before her. All opposition to the Annexation was soon silenced by the significant hint that no one displaying it had any thing to ex-

pact from the Administration. As soon as this was understood, men devoured their own words with a cheerful alacrity and turned political somersets with a sudden agility, diverting, if not edifying, to behold. The party, with a few rare and honorable exceptions, went in a body with their Southern masters, as soon as they knew that they were in earnest, with the docility of a flock of sheep. The first crack of the Slave-whip was enough to restore order in the ranks of the political *cattle* and to send them uncomplainingly on in the way they should go. The alliance between the Northern Democracy and Southern Slaveocracy has been perfect for all practical purposes. There have been symptoms of division in the ranks of the party on minor points, but in the great fundamental principle of contempt for the rights of other men, we believe there has been no difference of opinion. Liberty and Humanity have no worse enemy than the Slavery-ridden Democracy of the Northern States.

#### THE THIRD PARTY.

At the last election in this State there was a great falling off in the number of votes cast by the various parties. In this diminution the Third Party shared in nearly, if not quite, the same proportion with the others. Under such circumstances, if it had been the moral movement it claims to be, it ought not only not to have diminished its vote, but should have increased its numbers from the ranks of the other parties. We believe this result was owing in a greater or less degree to the fidelity with which this Society has done its duty in past years, in exposing the character and history of the leaders of that party, and thus showing how little they were worthy of the confidence and support of the enemies of Slavery. The indifference, to say the least, which seemed to mark the con-

doubt of the official organ and some of the leaders of the party, to the Annexation of Texas, though there were distinguished and honorable exceptions, also contributed to it. We cannot but think, moreover, that the share of the Third Party, in the FIFTY THOUSAND votes that were lost to the politics of the year, as well as those of the other two, was materially affected by the increasing doubts in the minds of men as to the morality of voting for officers who must swear to support the Constitution of the United States. To whatever cause this result was owing, we consider it as decisive of the speedy downfall of the party; an event which will be justly regarded with satisfaction by all Abolitionists, who were acquainted with its factious origin, and have watched its mischievous career.

#### THE CHURCH.

We have not left ourselves room, to such length has this report already extended, and so large a share of our attention has been claimed by the political events affecting the Anti-Slavery movement, to do more than take a cursory glance at the ecclesiastical developments of the past year. And yet the history of the religious world has presented to our consideration in no former year, events having a more direct or a more important relation to our enterprise. The division in the great Methodist Denomination, which we mentioned in our last Report as likely to ensue, has already taken place. Imperfect as has been the fidelity of Northern Methodists, who have consented to remain in ecclesiastical connection with men-stealers, it has been sufficient to rend the Church asunder. The sensitiveness of conscious guilt could not abide a fellowship which exposed it to hear words of rebuke, however qualified or accompanied by whatever inconsistent acts.

In consequence of the doings of the last General Conference, in the matter of Bishop Andrew, lame and impotent as

they were, of which we gave a sketch in our last report, a Convention of Southern Methodists was held, during May, at Louisville, Ky. This Convention remained in session for several days and discussed at great length the relations of the Northern and Southern portions of the Church, and the possibility of the two remaining together without derogation to the rights of the South. They resolved that the Southern and Southwestern Conferences "could not sanction the action of the late General Conference, on the subject of Slavery, by remaining under its ecclesiastical jurisdiction, without deep and lasting injury to the interests of the Church and the Country," and instructed the Committee on Organization, "if, on examination, they find there is no reasonable ground to hope that the Northern majority would recede from their position, and give some safe guaranty for the future security of our civil and ecclesiastical rights, to report in favor of a separation from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of said Conference." In this demand on the North, we must be allowed to think the South somewhat unreasonable, as it would seem difficult to imagine how the majority could recede farther from any offensive position than it actually did. This, however, was not the opinion of the Convention. On the 17th of May, a resolution was reported and adopted by a vote of ninety-six ayes to three noes, entirely dissolving the jurisdiction of the General Conference over the Southern and Southwestern Conferences, and constituting those Conferences a separate ecclesiastical connection, to be known by the style and title of "the Methodist Episcopal Church South."

Thus the Union of the Northern and Southern Church, as far as Methodism is concerned, is dissolved. The South was, as usual, true to her own interests, and did what seemed best to her in their defence. The extremely small provocation which the General Conference had given to their Slaveholding members, in merely requesting Bishop Andrew to refrain from exercising his episcopal functions while he remained a Slave-

holder, shows the impossibility of their consenting to remain in permanent ecclesiastical union with any who will not accept the divinity of Slavery. The Conference had not removed or suspended their men-stealing Father in God; he still remained a Bishop, was to receive the support of a Bishop, and, if he pleased, exercise the functions of a Bishop; but all these concessions on the part of the Northern Methodists were of no avail. The South perceived that a troublesome spirit existed at the North which would make itself heard in their National religious assemblies, and they declared their independence. Though the love of sect was too powerful for the love of liberty in Northern religionists, the love of Slavery triumphed over it in those of the South. The act which the Northern portion of the Church should have done years ago, to free their consciences from the guilt of participation in Slavery, the Southern Church has done to free itself from the annoyance of even the faintest remonstrance against its darling institution. Thus the Northern Methodists received their just reward for their wicked attempts to preserve the unity of their Church at the expense of justice and right, in seeing that Church rent in twain by even the feeblest breath of agitation. They have justly forfeited their self-respect, and, at the same time, failed to secure the object for which they sacrificed it.

In this disruption of the bond which united together the two sections of this powerful association, we see a hopeful presage of that political separation which alone can free the North from its guilty participancy in Slaveholding, and which, as we believe, will bring the system itself to its speediest end. That this view is not without reasonable ground, we have the testimony of no less unimpeachable a witness than HENRY CLAY himself. Mr. CLAY, in reply to a letter asking his opinion on this very point, among others, says, "I will not say that such a separation would necessarily produce a dissolution of the political union of these States; but the example would be

fraught with imminent danger, and, in co-operation with other causes unfortunately existing, its tendency on the stability of the confederacy would be perilous and alarming." The Convention, however, being entirely composed of Slaveholders, or their immediate representatives, the voice of the great compromiser did not have the magical effect which has usually followed his interposition on occasions where there were Northern rights to be bartered for the empty name of Union.

We do not believe that the men thus dissolving their ecclesiastical connection with the Northern Church, or any of them, would have taken this step had they seriously believed that it would endanger the political union of the States. The necessity of Northern bayonets to prop up the Southern domestic institutions, is too well understood by the helpless Slave-masters to suffer them to run any real risk of losing their support. The Dissolution of the Union will never be begun at the South. The service of the Northern Janizaries will never voluntarily be dispensed with. The rebellion must begin in their own ranks. But we conceive that this and every similar movement separating the South and the North, in matters of voluntary association, must have a direct tendency to destroy in Northern men the factitious and absurd feeling of loyalty to a Union which makes them politically serfs, that has been excited by selfish politicians for their own purposes, and thus lead to a just and impartial calculation of its value. It was in this view, we apprehend, that Mr. CLAY wrote his letter of dissuasion, and in this view it does honor to his sagacity and forecast. That his forebodings may be realized, and his augury fulfilled, is fast becoming the earnest wish and the resolute purpose of awakening thousands.

The Baptist denomination, also, have furnished us with like food for contemplation during the past year. Though the Southern Baptists have not, as yet, entirely severed their ecclesiastical connection with their Northern brethren, they

have taken what may be regarded as a preliminary step, by refusing to co-operate with them in their Missionary operations. In consequence of the Foreign Missionary Board of the Baptist Triennial Convention, which has its seat of operations in Boston, having announced last December their determination to refuse to appoint any one as a missionary, who owned Slaves, and insisted upon retaining them as his property ; adding, " we can never be a party to any arrangement which would imply approbation of Slavery ; " the Board of the Virginia Missionary Society proposed a Convention of Southern Baptists " to confer on the best method of promoting the Foreign Mission cause, and other interests of the Baptist denomination in the South." This Convention accordingly assembled in the beginning of May at Augusta, Georgia, and, after a session of several days, formed a new Missionary Society, whose centre of operations was to be at the South. This determination was proclaimed to the world in an affecting address, which recapitulated the injuries the Southern Baptists had received at the hands of those of the North ; remonstrated against the violation of their compact and Constitution ; protested against the action of the Boston Board ; mourned over the check thus given to Southern benevolence ; and lamented over the necessity of separation. It is consolatory to know, however, that their zeal for evangelizing the world is not quenched by this unkindness of their foward brethren. The address goes on to say, " with zeal, our eyes and hearts are turned to Burmah and the Karens,— to the Continent of Africa,— to China, and her thirsty millions. In the South we have property which we will offer to the Lord and his cause ! " And again, " our brethren have pressed upon every inch of our privileges and sacred rights,— but this shall only urge our gushing souls to yield proportionately of their renewed efforts to the Lord, to the Church Universal, and to a dying world ! "

The Meeting of the American Baptist Home Missionary

Society was held about the time of the Augusta Convention, at Providence, R. I. A proposition for an amicable separation of this society, which had been referred to a Committee at the last Annual Meeting to report to this, was discussed, but no decision made. The Slaveholders will have to do this work of division also themselves. The most significant portion of the proceedings consisted in a resolution offered by Mr. COLVER, "that the Board should not hereafter appoint Slaveholders as Missionaries," which was adopted; but at the same session a motion to reconsider this resolution was made and carried. Mr. COLVER afterwards moved that it was *inexpedient* to make such appointment; but upon receiving assurances, that if the resolutions before the meeting were passed, without this amendment, "the Board would not appoint any man Missionary who held property in his fellow man," Mr. COLVER *withdrew his amendment!* So that the Home Missionary Society avoided committing itself on the subject, by any direct action. It is not probable, however, that the Southern portion of the Church will feel safe from the possibility of rebuke, until it has imitated the example of the Methodist Church, and formally and entirely separated itself from its Northern connection.

During the past year, too, the Baptist world has been edified by a Discussion of "Domestic Slavery, considered as a Scriptural Institution," conducted by two of its most distinguished ornaments, Dr. FRANCIS WAYLAND, of Rhode Island, and Dr. RICHARD FULLER, of South Carolina. These reverend champions conducted the conflict with all the courtesies of chivalry. Dr. FULLER maintained the excellence of Slavery, as a whole, while he gave up all its necessary incidents and concomitants in detail. Dr. WAYLAND, though he would not allow the system to be absolutely righteous in itself, yet makes admissions enough to satisfy an impartial reader that it is not necessarily so very bad a thing after all! He admits that the New Testament does not forbid

Slavery ; that God permitted and regulated it among the Jews ; that a man cannot manumit his slaves if the law forbid it ; that Southern Slaveholders are not to be compared with African Slave-traders ; that were he a Missionary to a Slaveholding Heathen nation, he should not insist upon emancipation as a condition of Church-membership ; that Slaveholding is not always and everywhere a sin ; that simple Slaveholding ought not to be ground of excommunication ; that he perceives but little to object to in the conclusions of his reverend brother ; and, finally, that knowing some Christian Slaveholders, who have voluntarily remained such through life, *he knows not how they could have acted more worthily!* Well may the Slaves pray to be delivered out of the hands of such friends !

The Unitarian denomination have uplifted their voice of protestation against Slavery, during the last year, in decided and emphatic tones. It being thought by some of the American clergymen, that the delay, if not the language, of the reply which the Unitarian ministers returned to the letter addressed to them, the previous year, by their British brethren, was calculated to give an unjust impression to the world of their sense of the enormity of Slavery, a protest against American Slavery was drawn up and signed by ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY ministers. This document was prepared with great care and skill, and contained, in a brief space, the argument against Slavery, couched in language of the tersest energy. It was widely circulated and produced a strong impression on the public mind, extending far beyond the limits of the denomination from which it emanated. It is an observable fact, and one significant to those who understand the nature and history of the Anti-Slavery cause, that, although the signers of this Protest embraced a large proportion of the ministers of that denomination, the names of the elder and leading metropolitan ministers are not to be found annexed to it. Our space forbids us to do more than barely mention the fact, and

we leave it to be accounted for by themselves, or by others who may feel disposed to attempt the task.

The Society of Friends have always claimed, and once deserved, the name of an Anti-Slavery Society. We have in a former Report endeavored to do exact justice, in this behalf, and to show where, and how, the Society in this country had, as such, denied its former testimonies. The Society of Friends, in the British Islands, have furnished many of the very chiefest of Abolitionists in times past; and it was in a great degree owing to them that the great work of English Emancipation was accomplished. Among the members of the Society there, as well as here, we still number many of our heartiest and most active friends. But we regret to say, that very few, if any, of the prominent Friends, who had visited this country, have been able to withstand the pro-slavery atmosphere which hangs over it, and to stand erect and utter a faithful testimony in the ears of a perverse generation. The last year has furnished a new proof of this melancholy fact. It is well known that two or three years ago the Society of Friends in Indiana split on the rock of Slavery, and that the Anti-Slavery Friends have maintained a separate organization ever since. The London Yearly Meeting, grieved at this breach in the Society, sent four of its members, WILLIAM FORSTER, JOSIAH FORSTER, GEORGE STACY and JOHN ALLEN, to convey its advice to the seceding members to discontinue their meetings for worship, and attend those from which they had withdrawn. It is hardly necessary to say that their mission to those Friends, and to the Anti-Slavery Friends in Iowa belonging to their Yearly Meeting, was eminently unsuccessful. In the discharge of their errand, while in that part of the country, and while journeying thither, we believe that they kept themselves scrupulously separate from Abolitionists, and that their influence, as far as it extended, was hostile to the great Anti-Slavery Enterprise,

which is open to the genuine friends of freedom, of all opinions, and of every discipline, who are willing to combine for the overthrow of Slavery.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions have taken pains to define their position in relation to Slavery in clear and precise terms. The question having been raised at a previous meeting of the Board whether the Missionaries to the Cherokee and Choctaw tribes of Indians, or elsewhere, should be allowed to admit Slaveholding converts to Christian communion, it was referred to a Committee, of which the Rev. Dr. Woods was Chairman. At the last meeting of the Board, this Committee presented a report drawn up with much subtlety and address, in which an attempt was made to confound the true point at issue of American chattel Slavery, with the evils of *caste* in India, and the various forms of oppression which prevail in Heathen countries, and then the general principle is applied to all, that the Missionaries are to decide in each case, how far any of these are impediments to admission to the Church of Christ! The Board therefore decline instructing their Missionaries on this point; and, farther, distinctly affirm that "they cannot think that, in all cases, Slavery involves individual guilt in such a manner that every person implicated in it can, on Scriptural grounds, be excluded from Christian fellowship!" In support of this exposition of the evangelical doctrine of church-discipline, the sentiments and language of Dr. CHALMERS, to the same effect, are quoted, and with them, it affirms, that "*the whole General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland unanimously concur!*" It is to be hoped that the Abolitionists of Scotland, of that communion, will take measures to exonerate themselves from the imputation of this pro-slavery unanimity.

The Report goes on to declare, virtually, that Slavery is not a sin; that it is not the business of Missionaries to interfere with it, directly; that the only hope of its abolition is

through "the influence of the Gospel, conveyed in the spirit of meekness and love!" Which may be interpreted to mean, conveyed so as not to disturb the equanimity, or discompose the complacency, of the Slave-masters. Dr. BACON introduced resolutions, admitting that Slaveholding was not, in all cases, sin, but affirming that they who buy and sell slaves and treat them as property must of necessity be treated, "do not give satisfactory evidence of being born again, or having the spirit of Christ!" Mr. PHELPS introduced resolutions, of which the point was, that the Board would withdraw its support from Missionaries who received Slaveholders to the Church, on the same ground that it would withdraw such support in case of the admission of gamblers, drunkards, and the like. All these resolutions, however, were rejected, and the Report adopted, after a long discussion, without a dissenting voice! Thus this powerful body has taken a bolder position than it has yet assumed, and, encompassing Slavery about with the protection of its great name and mighty influence, it has well earned the distinction of being the loftiest and the strongest of all her bulwarks.

Such are a few of the interesting ecclesiastical developments of the last twelvemonth. We have no room even to mention the action of Presbyteries and Churches, of Conventions and of individuals, which might come under this division of our subject. We can only say that the Church has again borne witness to the fermentation which the Anti-Slavery sentiment is creating in the community; and that fidelity on the part of Abolitionists only is necessary to make her elect between the performance of her duty to the Slave and her own destruction.

In the slight sketch which we have thus given of the action of these various religious bodies, we trust that we shall not be suspected of exercising any partiality in the judgment we have passed upon them. We view the religious, as well as the political, events which affect the Anti-Slavery Cause, from

the broad and high platform of the Anti-Slavery Cause. We endeavor to look at them with the eye of the Slave, and to pronounce upon their character, as he would do, did he occupy our stand-point. As we welcome to our platform men of all creeds and establishments, without questioning the origin of the one or the authority of the other, but only asking the employment of both for the deliverance of the captives; so do we look with impartial eyes upon the contests which are going on in the religious and political worlds, only entreating of all to suspend their strife with each other, for a time, and make common cause with us for the destruction of Slavery. We call upon all men to come to the assistance of them that are drawn unto death, from the Pope of Rome to the most radical *Come-outer* of them all, and we do not stop to inquire as to their right to use or to reject the spiritual power which they claim, or abjure; we only demand of them to use whatever influence or authority they can employ for the removal of any crime, for the extinction of this sum of all crimes. We do not undertake to affirm whether the Calvinist is right in deciding, on evidence, whether a man's state of mind and manner of life entitle him to the Christian name and privileges, or whether the Unitarian is wrong in making each man the final judge of these things, in his own case, without appeal; we only ask of both to treat Slaveholding and Slave-holders as they treat all other sins and sinners. As Abolitionists, we have no contest with the Church and with the State, as such. It is only a PRO-SLAVERY CHURCH and a PRO-SLAVERY STATE that we denounce and come out from. Clergymen and Quakers, Church-members and *Come-outers*, Politicians and Non-Resistants, all stand on an equal footing upon our platform. As Abolitionists, we have no test but the fidelity of every man to his own rule of duty; no creed, but the inherent wickedness of Slavery and the duty of immediate emancipation. Our intolerance and exclusiveness consist in trying every man by the standard which, not we, but he

himself has erected and acknowledged to be the true one. We have no religious or political test, but we insist upon men's consistency, in the matter of Slavery, with those which they have themselves set up. And we claim the right to point out, in such terms as we think the case demands, such inconsistencies of profession and practice, of words and deeds, as we deem the cause of the helpless millions, in whose behalf we speak, demands. This being the philosophy, or rather the plain common-sense, of our association, we invite all, of all opinions, creeds and climes, to come with such weapons as they can bring, and join us in this work of the Abolition of Slavery,—a work which is, when stripped of the sophistries which have been thrown around it by pro-Slavery priests and politicians, merely the plainest benevolence and the simplest humanity.

#### OUR PROSPECTS.

We have thus taken a hasty glance at the year which has just hurried past us,—a year crowded with great events, and attended by portentous shadows of others yet to come. It has been a year of triumph to Slavery, of jubilee and rejoicing to those who desire its permanent establishment and high supremacy. The battle has been fought, and the victory has gone against Liberty. Thirty thousand foreign Slaves are incorporated with the nation, groaning in our own house of bondage, and the energies of the domestic Slave-trade are revived and directed to new marts for men. The gradual revolution which has been at work for fifty years, metamorphosing the government which our fathers established, as they thought, to secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, into a Slaveholding oligarchy, perverting its powers to the perpetuation and extension of Slavery, is now completed. An insignificant minority of the people, in virtue of their

ownership in human beings, possesses a clear majority of voices in the Senate of the United States, and thus controls and directs the offices, the laws and the policy of the country. While in the mother country the effect of the slow revolution in men's minds has been to transfer the political power of the State from the aristocratic to the popular branch, its results in this republic has been exactly the reverse. The Senate is a body of vastly greater real power than the House of Lords, for its selfishness cannot be controlled by the royal prerogative of the indefinite multiplication of peerages. It is as absolute as the Council of Ten. No appointment can be made, no law changed, without its consent. And yet this omnipotent body is the tool of a privileged class,—not much, if at all, exceeding ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND voting men! And this a class, too,—thus strong in its presumptive privilege of piracy, its hereditary rights of robbery,—of necessity and from the nature of things, the necessary and natural enemy of the free labor and the free laborers they control and govern!

In view of the present triumphant ascendancy of the Slave Power, may we not reasonably despair of success, and throw ourselves without a farther struggle into the stream of events which is hurrying us, as well as the Slaves, to hopeless destruction? Have we not been spending our labor and our strength for nought? Is there any gleam of hope left to light us on the devious way we are to tread? To whomsoever else the present juncture may seem one fit to excite nothing but despondency, to the intelligent abolitionist it has another aspect. Despair is not a word written in his vocabulary. In these events, which he descried afar off, when a false security lulled all other hearts, he sees only the necessary results of causes he has long known to exist. He even beholds in them proofs of the progress of the Anti-Slavery idea, and recognizes them as authentic witnesses of the success of his own agitation. He knew from the beginning that Slavery could not be abolished without a fearful struggle, and he expected that the resistance

of Slavery would be in exact proportion to the aggressions of Liberty. He is not cast down when he sees the Slave Power overleaping the barriers of the Constitution and appropriating to its vile uses, by an audacious larceny, a domain equal in extent to some of the proudest kingdoms of Europe ; for he sees in this act of desperation, the proof that it feels that its throne is shaken, and that its sceptre trembles in its gripe. The spirit of Slavery is aroused because the spirit of Liberty is awakening, and now, like the good and evil principles of the Persians, they are fighting with each other for the mastery ; and in this awakening of the spirit of liberty he sees the fruit and the reward of his own toils and testimonies. And in the very fierceness of the conflict between Liberty and Slavery, he sees the first struggles of the Revolution whose cradle he has rocked, and to whose gathering strength he looks for deliverance for himself and his children.

The developements of the last year are due to no new spirit infused into the heart of this nation. It is the same spirit whose subtle workings we have been watching for years, that has been busy in this work of destruction. It is true that it was aroused, but was not created, by the Anti-Slavery zeal of later years. The reptile has started up into a demon at the touch of the Anti-Slavery spear ; but it was no less a devil when hid under its disguise. Slavery has always been the paramount lord of this people, in effect. It is better that it should be so in name, as well as in deed. The forms of a Republic are all that we have had for many years ; we are none the more slaves that the Imperial Power grows more and more careless about keeping up the farce of freedom. The spirit of Slavery is no stronger, the spirit of Liberty is no weaker, now, than it was fifteen years ago, when the first warning cry resounded in the unwilling ears of a sleeping nation. Our loss is only apparent ; our gain is real. If the Annexation of Texas has been rendered necessary, as we believe, by the progress of Anti-Slavery agitation, the cause may be well ad-

mitted to be more significant than the effect. The Slave-holders know that their cherished system exists but by Northern sufferance. The more outrageous their violations of Northern rights in defence of that system, the more plainly do they confess their instinctive perception of the changing state of the Northern mind, and the more reasonable is the probability that the North may be aroused to an effectual resistance. Subjection to an irresponsible tyranny, and not its excesses, is the evil which our Fathers taught us, by precept and by example, to resist to the uttermost. A secret tyranny is more fatal than an open one, and the very atrocities which reveal its existence, may be the means appointed for its destruction. Therefore we are of good cheer, even in the presence of this portentous event, knowing that it lies greatly in our hands whether it shall remain a Curse, or be transmuted into a Blessing, to our country and to mankind.

#### OUR DUTY.

What then is our duty, at this momentous crisis? The same which was ours in each successive crisis which has heralded this; and which will still be ours in each that will follow after it, in its due turn, till all be accomplished. It is, to continue to maintain that faithful testimony, which has compelled the reluctant people to pause and listen to the tale of the Slave's wrongs and of their own blood-guiltiness. It is, to continue to be the reproachful conscience of this guilty nation, giving it no peace in its dreams of power and wealth, until it shall repent and release its captives. It is, to uphold that great Agitation which ever stands in the presence of this tyrant nation, and commands it, in the name of the Living God, to let his people go! And still to point out to it, the loathsome plagues and hideous destruction in which its disso-

bedience to this incessant command is plunging it, and to show the only way of escape.

This is the mission of the Anti-Slavery Enterprise. Imperfectly as that mission has been performed, many as have been the obstacles which the hostility of open enemies, and the treachery of pretended friends, have thrown in the way of its discharge, it has still been of power sufficient to shake the nation. It was not our numbers, for we are few ; it was not our strength, for we are weak, as men count strength ; it was our measure of FIDELITY, that has enabled us to arouse the sluggish mind of this people, and to pour our words of warning and of rebuke into their ears, whether they would hear or whether they would forbear. It is only by the same unselfish and uncompromising testimony that we can hope to complete the change in the heart of this nation, which will decree the triumph of our accomplished warfare. FIDELITY and ACTIVITY are the two chief, the two only essential, elements of our success. Let us not be seduced to lower our standard, or to relax our efforts ; and, should we fail of the victory, we shall at least have the satisfaction of having deserved it.

The mission of the Abolitionists is a high and holy one. They supply the deficiency in the social state to which we owe the rapid deterioration of our national morals and the destruction of our free national institutions. At each advancing stride of Slavery, in times past, there were always found brave men who opposed a dauntless breasts to its usurpations ; but when their resistance was in vain, and Slavery was triumphant, they submitted quietly, if not patiently, and their voice of remonstrance was heard no more. They had been taught to regard Slavery as a necessary evil, for which none living were responsible, and they felt no call to protest against it, except at times when their own rights were imminently endangered by it. Thus the prescriptive rights of Slavery came to be looked upon at the North, as well as at the South, as sacred, and the first interference with them, as treasonable. But

now the great doctrine of Immediate Emancipation has been proclaimed. Slavery is denounced as a *malum in se*, a sin to be immediately abandoned. A body of men has now existed for fifteen years in the country whose very name and being is a perpetual protest against Slavery. It has been their business to attack it at all times, and in all places, and to drive it from one fastness to another.

They have never slumbered nor slept, but their odious truths have been ever reiterated in the hearing of the nation. They make continual claim for the rights of the Slave, and will not suffer them to be lost by their default. The great change which we have witnessed in the public mind within those few years, is mainly owing to their importunity. It is to the continuance of that importunity, to this keeping of the wrongs of the Slave, and of their own guilty participation in them, continually in the minds of the free, that we are to hope for a triumphant success. It is this element of incessant, impracticable, importunate Abolitionism that distinguishes the present era from all that preceded it, and makes it the Baptist, if not the Messiah, of Emancipation.

Such being the trust which is laid upon the American Abolitionists, let them see to it that they are faithful to it. Let them feel its dignity, as well as its importance. It is no small privilege in a sordid and self-seeking age, devoted to low and ephemeral interests, to be permitted to discover the grandeur and far-reaching issues of the passage of the world's history which we are now helping to fill up. To have a lofty and ennobling object of pursuit, not the paltry strifes of party for the predominance of this, or the other, scheme of national selfishness, but even the extension of human freedom, and the restoration of their rights to a nation of enslaved millions within our borders, is a blessing which they only who deserve can appreciate. The Abolition of American Slavery is the only event of this age and country which will claim an imperishable record on the tablet of History. It is the only

event which will affect the daily life and substantial happiness of millions yet to be. Happy is he who, amid the noise and dust of the surrounding world, can discern this great event slowly, but certainly, working out its own accomplishment ! Happier he, who, for no self-ends, joins the train of its faithful friends, and devotes himself ungrudgingly to its service, content with the reward of knowing that he thus best satisfies the demands of his own soul, of his race, and of his God !

## TREASURER'S REPORT.

*The receipts into the Treasury of the Massachusetts Anti Slavery Society, from January 20, 1845, to January 1, 1846, have been as follow, viz.*

Balance of old account,	\$285 68
From Upton Union A. S. S. by W. L. Garrison,	100 00
" Collections made at annual meeting, by H. W. Williams,	144 98
" Rents of part of office, 25 Cornhill,	92 50
" Ladies' A. S. Fair in Salem, by Adelia Roberts, treasurer,	100 00
" Sales of book at 25 Cornhill,	245 00
" Collections at N. E. Convention, by H. W. Williams,	186 51
" Uxbridge A. S. Society, by G. Capron,	50 00
" Cambridgeport A. S. Society, by W. Farwell,	16 00
" Weymouth and Braintree Female A. S. Society Fair, by L. A. Cowing, treasurer,	80 00
" Sundry individual subscriptions, as advertised in the Liberator,	94 00
	<hr/>
Making total amount of receipts,	\$1394 67

The disbursements during the same time have been  
as follow, viz. :

Paid for rent of office, 25 Cornhill,	\$300 00
" For printing Annual Report of the Board,	82 90
" Expenses of Annual Meeting,	95 25
" Per order of the Board, to the American Society,	150 00
" Charles K. Whipple for his services as Agent,	265 59
" Expenses of N. E. Anti-Slavery Convention,	103 12
" Perkins & Co's. bill of paper,	2 50
" S. S. Foster for balance due him for former services,	20 00
" Printing handbills,	3 50
" Expenses of Agents on 1st of August Anniversary, by C. K. Whipple,	14 00
" For Liberators sent to Members of Congress,	26 00
" L. Moody, for services as Agent,	28 15
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Making total amount of disbursements,	\$1096 01
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Leaving a balance in treasury, on Jan. 1,	\$298 66

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, TREASURER.

**AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE.**

BOSTON, Jan. 24, 1846.— I have examined the foregoing account of the receipts and disbursements of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, from Jan. 20, 1845, to the present time, and find the same to be correct.

**EDMUND JACKSON, AUDITOR.**

## OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

1846.

### PRESIDENT.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

### VICE PRESIDENTS.

SETH SPRAGUE, Duxbury,	SAMUEL MAY, Leicester,
ANDREW ROBESON, New Bedford,	HARRIS COWDRY, Acton,
NATH'L B. BORDEN, Fall River,	NATHAN WEBSTER, Haverhill,
STILLMAN LOthrop, Cambridge,	GEORGE HOYT, Athol,
AMOS FARNSWORTH, Groton,	THEODORE P. LOCKE, Westminster,
JOSEPH SOUTHWICK, Chelsea,	WILLIAM BASSETT, Lynn,
ADIN BALLOU, Milford,	JOHN C. GORE, Roxbury,
JOHN M. FISK, West Brookfield,	CAROLINE WESTON, New Bedford,
JOSHUA T. EVERETT, Princeton,	ZENAS RHOADES, N. Marlboro',
EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, Uxbridge,	BENJAMIN SNOW, Jr., Fitchburg,
WILLIAM B. EARLE, Leicester,	JOSIAH GIFFORD, Sandwich,
JEFFERSON CHURCH, Springfield,	GEORGE MILES, Westminster,
HORATIO G. WOOD, Middleboro',	JAMES N. BUFFUM, Lynn,
WILLIAM B. STONE, Gardner,	CYRUS PIERCE, Newton,
OLIVER GARDNER, Nantucket,	JOHN T. HILTON, Cambridge.

### CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

EDMUND QUINCY, Dedham.

### RECORDING SECRETARY.

HENRY W. WILLIAMS, Boston.

### TREASURER.

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Brookline.

### AUDITOR.

EDMUND JACKSON, Boston.

### COUNSELLORS.

WM. L. GARRISON,	WENDELL PHILLIPS,
MARIA W. CHAPMAN,	JOHN ROGERS,
CORNELIUS BRAMHALL,	ANNE W. WESTON,
HENRY I. BOWDITCH,	CHARLES L. REMOND,
ROBERT F. WALCUTT,	ELIZA LEE FOLLEN,
JOHN M. SPEAR,	CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

# APPENDIX.

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## THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING, 1846.

PURSUANT to the notification of the President and Secretary of the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, according to its Constitution, the Fourteenth Annual Meeting was held in the Tremont Temple, on the 28th, 29th and 30th of January.

On Wednesday morning, Jan. 28, the President of the Society, FRANCIS JACKSON, took the chair.

After prayer, by J. M. SPEAR, the following persons were appointed Assistant Secretaries :—

DANIEL RICKETSON, of New Bedford,  
SAMUEL DYER, of Abington,  
MARY P. KENNY, of Salem.

Committees were then appointed, as follows :— Committee on Business :

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,  
WENDELL PHILLIPS,  
MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,  
CHARLES LENOX REMOND,  
PARKER PILLSBURY,  
C. C. BURLEIGH,  
WILLIAM A. WHITE.

Committee on the Roll and Finance :—

LORING MOODY,  
J. T. EVERETT,  
FREDERIC S. CABOT

## Committee on Nomination of Officers :—

EDMUND QUINCY, Norfolk Co.  
 SETH SPRAGUE, Plymouth Co.  
 JOHN T. HILTON, Middlesex Co.  
 LORING MOODY, Barnstable Co.  
 J. T. EVERETT, Worcester Co.  
 NATHAN WEBSTER, Essex Co.  
 ROBERT F. WALCUTT, Suffolk Co.  
 BENJAMIN SNOW, JR., Worcester Co.

The Treasurer's Report was read and accepted. Selections from the Annual Report of the Board of Managers were read by the Corresponding Secretary, Edmund Quincy, of Dedham.

## WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

The subject-matter of the following Memorial was discussed, and finally adopted, unanimously. The subsequent resolutions were also adopted, after discussion, with great unanimity.

*To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts.*

Whereas, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts has, through her Legislature, with great unanimity, in the years 1843, 1844 and 1845, solemnly and strenuously protested against the admission, by the federal government, of the foreign nation of Texas, as a State, into this Union, because the act would be in direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, and because it would perpetuate the Slavery of a portion of mankind in America, and because it would extend the unequal rule of representation by federal numbers, over a new region never within the contemplation of those who consented to its establishment, at the time of the formation of the Constitution :—

And, whereas, "the consent of the executive and legislative departments of the government of the United States has been given" to this iniquitous project in a manner as unconstitutional as it was profligate, and the aforesaid 'foreign nation of Texas' is now recognized as one of the States of the Union :—

Therefore, the undersigned citizens and inhabitants of this Com-

monwealth, respectfully and earnestly call upon the Legislature to declare — “That Massachusetts hereby refuses to acknowledge the act of the general government of the United States, authorizing the admission of Texas, as a legal act :” — “That the annexation of a large slaveholding territory at the will of the government of the United States, with the declared intention of giving strength to the institution of domestic slavery in these States, is an alarming encroachment upon the rights of the Union, a perversion of the principles of republican government, a deliberate assault upon the compromises of the Constitution, and demands the strenuous, united, and persevering opposition of all persons, without distinction, who claim to be the friends of human liberty :” — That inasmuch as the old Union has ceased to exist, and its recognition as still binding, by Massachusetts, would be traitorous to the cause of human liberty — to sanction a great national crime — to submit to an absolute despotism — to co-operate for the perpetuation of slavery and the slave-trade — and at the same time to give the lie to all the solemn declarations of Massachusetts, in regard to the annexation of Texas — therefore it is the duty of the Senators and Representatives from this State in Congress, immediately to return home to their constituents, and the duty of the People of Massachusetts immediately to hold a general convention for the purpose of framing an independent and free government, either for herself alone, or with such other States as may be disposed to co-operate with her in trampling upon tyranny, and carrying into full effect the self-evident truths set forth in the old Declaration of Independence.

1. *Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed to report a delegation of two gentlemen, to be invited by this Society, at the present time, to visit Haiti for three months on anti-slavery duties, and that they be intrusted with such letters and instructions, as the committee shall deem expedient. Also, that their necessary expenses, and a suitable salary, be paid them from the funds of this Society.

[Hereupon W. Phillips, C. L. Remond and M. W. Chapman were chosen a committee, and they advised the appointment of C. L. Remond and David Lee Child as envoys of the Society.]

2. *Resolved*, That the friends of the cause, in those towns of the State where separate colored schools are established, be urged to see to it, that our colored fellow-citizens are fully informed of their

rights under the recent law of the Commonwealth, and afford them all possible aid in securing the full and equal enjoyment of the public schools; and if either the terms of the law, or the indifference of the public, shall suffice to keep alive this enormous abuse of the common school system, then so to bring the matter before the people of the State as to correct this injustice.

**3. Resolved,** That in consequence of the signal victory achieved by the Slave Power during the past year, by the annexation of Texas to this Union, there is great danger that a moral paralysis will seize on the popular mind and heart; and that an event, which, in view of its unparalleled atrocity, should be the cause of the speedy downfall of slavery, by combining against it the irresistible power of the people, will only give a new and long lease to its existence, and extinguish the last hope for the salvation of the republic.

**4. Resolved,** That the friends of the anti-slavery cause be urged to co-operate in placing in the hands of the Board of Managers of this Society, as large a sum as practicable, to be exclusively devoted to the support of lecturing agents in this Commonwealth.

[The money raised in pledges and in cash during the meetings, amounted to upwards of \$1800.00.]

**5. Resolved,** That Charles Sumner and Ralph Waldo Emerson, who have refused to lecture before the New Bedford Lyceum, on account of the exclusion of colored persons, deserve the warmest thanks of every friend of justice and humanity; and we rejoice that the testimony thus nobly borne comes from a quarter, which must strike a strong blow against the prejudice of color, and carry home a severe rebuke to those who, by their acts, have yielded to the base and wicked spirit of the South, and violated the boasted principles of Northern liberty.

**6. Resolved,** That we regard the visit of Frederick Douglass across the ocean, as an American Slave, with feelings of warm commendation and brotherly regard; that the generous and highly honorable reception which has been given to him by the people of Ireland, fills us with unmixed pleasure, as it will inflict a staggering blow on the anti-republican and anti-Christian spirit of American caste; and that, not doubting that the same hospitable and manly treatment which he has experienced in the Emerald Isle, will be extended to him by the people of Scotland and England, and that his foreign mission will be of the largest service to our enterprise,

we trust he will in due time be returned in safety to the guilty land of his birth, to join again with us in toils and sacrifices for her full redemption.

7. *Whereas*, there is a point in the progress of despotism, beyond which endurance cannot go, and it would be criminal passively to submit ; and,

*Whereas*, that point has already been attained, in the course of a long series of the most frightful strides on the part of the Slave Power of this country, — destroying in its progress the sacred right of petition, of locomotion, of free speech, and the freedom of the press, — trampling upon the Constitution, and prostrating every bulwark of religious and political freedom, — seizing by fraud and violence a vast foreign territory, and in the same profligate spirit annexing it to the United States, and still grasping for more, for the avowed purpose of protecting, extending and perpetuating a system of unequalled tyranny, pollution and blood, — and finally dooming citizens of this Commonwealth to chains and slavery, if caught in Southern ports : — therefore,

*Resolved*, That, standing in Faneuil Hall, the cradle of a world-famous Revolution — animated, we trust, by as pure a spirit of patriotism and as ardent a zeal in the cause of human liberty as our revolutionary sires, but substituting, for their weapons of warfare, those of an ethereal temper, which are mighty through God to the pulling down of every strong-hold of tyranny — we hereby declare to the country and the world, that the time has come for the overthrow of the existing national government, the repeal of the national compact, and the formation of a Northern Free League for the establishment of a new Union, in which there shall exist no tyrant or slave, but every man shall be put in the full possession of all his inalienable rights.

8. *Resolved*, That the special thanks of this Society are proffered to our untiring coadjutor, Henry C. Wright, for the fidelity with which he has unmasked the vaunted Free Church of Scotland, for conniving at the great iniquity of American slavery, by soliciting and receiving its pecuniary assistance and religious co-operation ; for all his labors abroad, to secure in aid of our anti-slavery enterprise, the generous sympathies and Christian co-operation of the good and philanthropic in England and Europe ; and in particular, for

the revelation which he has made to them, as to the guilty compromises of the American Union — thus invoking their moral abhorrence of such an unholy compact, and securing their righteous testimony against it.

9. *Resolved*, That this Society hails with the most cordial satisfaction, the resolutions of the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland, passed at Glasgow in July last; and, in answer to the charge of being anti-Church, the Society replies, that with churches acting up to those principles, it has no fault to find.

10. *Resolved*, That the liberal assistance which has been rendered to this Society, through the medium of the late Faneuil Hall Bazaar, is gratefully appreciated, as affording, at present, the main staff of the pecuniary efficiency of our operations; and as giving fresh evidence of the fact, that, as in the anti-slavery struggle in England, so, in a similar struggle in this country, it is to the women that the credit is due of being first and foremost on the score of zeal, activity, and self-sacrifice, to secure for bleeding humanity a speedy deliverance.

11. *Resolved*, That the American Colonization Society is now what it ever was, the determined enemy of the slave in the false guise of professed friendship. It seeks, by pointing to the shores of Africa, to turn away the eyes of the benevolent from the suffering slaves in our own country, and to absorb the sympathies of the kindly hearted in favor of a scheme designed to ‘guard that system’ of bondage, under which three millions suffer, from the influences of freedom, by removing those influences out of the way; and blasphemously appeals to the religious sentiment, and seeks to perpetuate the most unholy prejudice, to enable it to effect its object. Therefore further

12. *Resolved*, That anti-slavery lecturers should make it a part of their business to unmask this monster, from time to time, and not suffer it to regain the footing that, under a former exposure, it had lost.

13. *Resolved*, That the action of the last meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in regard to the crime of holding human beings in slavery, in addition to its previous course on the same subject, proves beyond intelligent and honest contradiction, that that body is inherently and ‘organically’ corrupt and time-serving, and therefore totally disqualified from comprehending,

sanctioning or spreading abroad the glorious gospel of Him, who came to proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound. Therefore further

**Resolved,** That the friends of God and man should as carefully withhold their donations from the American Board, while it occupies its present position, and is under its present guidance, as they would from any other conclave of ‘scribes, pharisees and hypocrites.’

**14. Resolved,** That recognizing in the deputation from the English ‘Friends,’ now visiting this country, some of the leaders of that Committee which conspired to exclude from the London Convention of 1840, the delegates from the American Anti-Slavery Society, we are not surprised that their whole course in this country has been marked by a desppicable sectarianism, a base servility to a corrupt public opinion, and a uniform sympathy with the oppressor.

**15. Resolved,** That the triumph of the scheme of Texan annexation, carried forward by the might and influence of the Federal Government, in spite of the many leading men publicly pledged against it — the great party which threw down its gage of defiance — the large interests jeopardized by its success — the risk of war — the solemn pledge of treaties — the deliberate repeated protest of a leading State — the half-awakened conscience of the nation — the moral sentiment of the age — is enough to show that no success is to be hoped for in our contest unless we throw off the trammels of the United States Constitution, and concentrate our efforts on slavery itself, and carry on the warfare under no party guidance, in no single channel, but in the united name ‘of justice, humanity, and the living God.’

**16. Resolved,** That while many, startled by the recent growth and triumph of the slave system, are seeking some popular war-cry with which to rally, for the moment, the opposers of its demands, or timidly and in obedience to a halting public opinion are concentrating their efforts on some odious incident of the system, or single act of its supporters, we frankly declare our warfare to be, as always heretofore, with the whole slave system itself — our object its immediate and total abolition — and our conviction that the only path to this result will be over the ruins of the present American Church, and the present American Union.

**17. Resolved,** That we rejoice to see all about us, in the speeches of single men, the actions of public bodies, the tone of public sentiment, even the voice of a comparatively dependent press, the thick-coming evidence of a great change on the subject of DISUNION ; and that many minds are rapidly ripening to the conviction, that the only hope for Liberty, this side of the water, is in the policy of ' NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.'

**18. Resolved,** That, rising in determination, energy and spirit with the emergency of the times,— taking our position by the side of the altar of liberty,— we hereby consecrate ourselves anew to the cause of our enslaved fellow-countrymen, and register our declaration afresh, that, come what may, we will never yield one inch of ground to the foe, but press on to the last hour of our existence, if need be, for the triumphant termination of our great enterprise.

The following-named persons participated in the discussions :— Wendell Phillips, G. W. F. Mellen, Edmund Quincy, W. L. Garrison, C. L. Remond, C. C. Burleigh, Daniel Ricketson, I. C. Ray, W. A. White, Henry Wilson, Parker Pillsbury, John Lewis Russell, J. B. Sanderson, Henry Clapp, Josiah Hayward, Wm. Jenkins, S. Smith, J. T. Everett, D. S. Grandin, E. Mack, Addison Davis, Seth Sprague, Jonathan Walker, and Warren Burton.

Between three and four thousand persons were most attentive listeners at the FANEUIL HALL session, to the eloquent speeches of Burleigh, Pillsbury, Garrison and Phillips, who were warmly cheered throughout. The last session, at the Tremont Temple, was one of the most affecting and solemn interest, from the fact of the approval given to the movement for a dissolution of the political Union with Slaveholders, by the venerable Seth Sprague, of Duxbury — one of the revolutionary fathers who helped to form it.

Very late on Friday night, after having been together for nine sessions, during three days and evenings, the Society adjourned, *sine die*.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President.*

**DANIEL RICKETSON,**  
**SAMUEL DYER,**  
**MARY P. KENNY,** } *Secretaries.*

Stacks.